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USSR, U.S. End Chemical Weapons Consultations

LD252025 Moscow TASS in English 2006 GMT 25 Mar 88

[Text] Geneva March 25 TASS—The eighth round of Soviet-American consultations on banning chemical weapons ended in Geneva today. Under the arrangement reached at the meeting between General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev and President of the United States Ronald Reagan in November 1985, the consultations are held to discuss all aspects of the problem of a comprehensive ban on chemical weapons and elimination of chemical weapons stockpiles, including questions of verification. The consultations are to promote the intensification of talks to conclude a truly global and verifiable convention applied to all states that are capable of having chemical weapons.

The outstanding questions related to the drafting of an appropriate multilateral convention in the framework of the conference on disarmament were discussed during the eighth round of the consultations.

Agreement Reached at CSCE 'Mandate' Talks

LD241848 Moscow TASS in English 1830 GMT 24 Mar 88

[Text] Vienna March 24 TASS—At the consultations between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO member countries to draft a mandate for talks on a cut in the armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals, agreement has been reached on issues pertaining to control and information and the preamble of the mandate.

The agreement reached provides for the verification of observance of the provisions of the future agreement through a regime of effective and strict control, which will include, among other things, on-sight inspections by right, that is without the right of refusal, as well as an exchange of information. The information should be sufficiently detailed to enable a specific comparison of the potentials of the corresponding forces. The specific forms of control, including the degree of the detailedness of information and the order for the exchange of it, will be coordinated at the talks themselves.

The text of the preamble, which has been adopted, clearly reflects the idea that the future talks are an integral part of the all-European process and should be held within its framework. Thus a close inter-relationship has been placed on record of the talks with the participation of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO member countries with the efforts of all the 35 countries participating in the Conference on European Security and Cooperation, aimed at strengthening security and stability in the continent.

As is believed here, the progress achieved in the work on the text of the mandate will give an additional impetus to the search for ways on the issues of the future talks on disarmament in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals, which have not yet been coordinated, as well as towards constructive progress at the Vienna meeting as a whole.

Kashlev: 'Substantial Advancement'

LD251652 Moscow TASS in English 1637 GMT 25 Mar 88

[Text] Vienna March 25 TASS—A regular stage of the Vienna meeting of representatives of the states, parties to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe has ended here. The delegates of 35 participating countries summed up its results at an open plenary session.

A substantial advancement in military-political questions—this is how the most important result of this round was characterised in his speech by head of the Soviet delegation Yuriy Kashlev. An accord has practically been reached on resumption of the conference on confidence and security-building measures, and disarmament in Europe (continuation of the known Stockholm Conference). Agreed upon were the sections of the mandate of the new negotiations on reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments from the Atlantic Ocean to the Urals, pertaining to the aims of the negotiations, control, exchange of information, etc. There are chances both for the conference and new negotiations of 23 Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries to open already this year.

There are beginnings of progress at the Vienna meeting in working out accords also on questions of humanitarian cooperation. This was also noted in speeches by a number of delegations. Meanwhile representatives of socialist countries note the Western stubborn resistance to the proposals for more precise implementation of the obligations in the sphere of socio-economic human rights, expansion of contacts between mass public organizations, reduction of the visa waiting time and simplification of the order of its issue, development of interstate cooperation in culture and education. They make stress only on the development of individual contacts which is certainly insufficient.

A certain headway was attained also in coordinating stands on problems of economy, trade and environmental protection. Proposals on holding, after the Vienna meeting, major all-European undertakings on these issues are being discussed.

At the plenary meeting representatives of socialist and also a number of other countries, have called for accelerating the work of the Vienna meeting and its completion with tangible results in all areas of all-European cooperation. This is a quite feasible goal.

Nuclear Risk Reduction Center 'Unit of Peace'

LD251907 Moscow TASS in English 1834 GMT 25 Mar 88

["Moscow-Washington: Channel of Confidence"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow March 25 TASS—TASS correspondents Yuriy Kornilov and Vladimir Chernyshev report from the Soviet Nuclear Risk Reduction Centre:

The centre which started functioning on the premises of the USSR Ministry of Defence simultaneously with a similar U.S. centre in Washington, is truly a unit of peace within the Soviet Armed Forces. Staying at the centre one realises with particular clarity that the setting up of such a centre at precisely the Ministry of Defence is in keeping with the Soviet military doctrine which sets prevention of war as the main purpose of the Armed Forces.

"The task of the centres is the issuing of notifications, and exchange of information necessary for effective verification of the existing and future agreements in the area of arms reduction and limitation", said Major General Vladimir Medvedev, chief of the Soviet Centre. "It was initially planned that the centre will mainly be issuing notifications of planned launchings of ballistic missiles, if such launches are to reach areas outside the national boundaries or if they posed danger for navigation and flights of aircraft. The tasks have been expanded now as the ratification of the treaty on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles is drawing nearer".

The volume of information to be relayed by the centres can be judged from the following facts. Roughly 2,700 missiles and some 1,200 launchers are to be eliminated. These volumes will soon be moved, brought to definite facilities to be destroyed. The information about these processes—as to where some or other consignment of missiles is situated, how the elimination of missiles and launchers, missile bases and auxiliary missile facilities—will make up a considerable volume of the radio exchanges. And what about the issuing of notifications concerning inspections. Both sides have some 150 points for inspections and several hundred inspections will be made. In view of the fact that intensive work is now conducted to draft the agreement on strategic offensive arms, the workload in the centre can be expected to be increased." [quotation marks as received]

Vladimir Medvedev acted as our guide to the premises of the centre, and introduced us to its staffers. Spacious and well-lit halls contain the most up-to-date radio and electronic equipment—displays, microprocessors, facsimile units, printers. Communication is continuous and highly reliable. Two satellite channels—the Soviet "Statsionar" and American "Intelsat"—are simultaneously employed. The operation of the communications lines is yet tested. Control communications sessions are held by one or the other side alternately every hour. Various tests are run. But everything has already been prepared for the work which for the first time in history will be documentedly reflecting the mutually verifiable process of the destruction of nuclear missile armaments.

One thinks unwittingly that a stable communication between Moscow and Washington has been established and that it would be highly desirable that the process of the destruction of nuclear arsenals be conducted in the same steady way until the words "Nuclear Risk Reduction" could be deleted from the names of the Soviet and the American centres, as there would remain no nuclear risk.

The opening of the work of the centres, these channels of confidence, shows that new political thinking acquires practical dimensions, is materialised in joint Soviet-American practical work.

Further on Center

LD272057 Moscow TASS in English 1932 GMT 27 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 27 TASS—A TASS correspondent reports:

Nuclear risk reduction centres, formed in Moscow and Washington, are an efficient, real channel of confidence, a TASS correspondent has been told by General V. Medvedev, head of the Soviet national centre.

The centres were formed simultaneously in Moscow and Washington, the general recalled, in accordance with the Soviet-American agreement, signed in September last year. The task of the centres is to transmit notifications, to exchange information necessary for efficient control of both existing and possibly would-be agreements in the sphere of limitation and reduction of armaments.

Initially it was implied that both centres would be used mainly for transmitting notifications on planned ballistic missile launchings, if such launchings go beyond the boundaries of the national territory or if such launchings are hazardous for sea navigation, for aircraft flights. But since the Soviet-American dialogue on limitation of armaments is developing, being filled with ever new content, the second article of the agreement envisaged that the list of notifications, transmitted through the centres, could be changed.

With the process of ratification of the Soviet-American INF Treaty drawing to conclusion, this article of the agreement, one may say, is already coming into effect: Both centres are bound to play a major role also in transmitting information necessary for practical implementation of the treaty.

The treaty, the general underlined, provides for a broad package of measures called upon to ensure the parties' mutual confidence that its provisions are being observed. The exchange of the necessary information and provision of notifications on inspections will be done through our centre. Both sides have about 150 objects for inspections, and there will be several hundreds of inspections themselves.

Both Moscow and Washington centres are equipped with contemporary identical equipment, said General Medvedev. The channels are duplicated, communication is carried out simultaneously through two satellite channels—the Soviet "Statsionar" and the American "Intelsat". Communication is maintained uninterruptedly, round the clock, and a check-up session is held every hour: Moscow transmits the text in odd hours while Washington—in even hours.

It takes a second or a second and a half to transmit a faacsimile text. The inner communication service at the centre has such a system that in a few minutes' time the information received goes to the desk of those who take decisions. Any report, transmitted from the centres, entering the communication channel, is automatically ciphered—and automatically deciphered in its terminal, on the display screen. Only those to whom the information is addressed can read it.

Bogachev: U.S. Unwilling To Practice 'Openness'

LD251735 Moscow TASS in English 1709 GMT 25 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 25 TASS—By TASS military writer Vladimir Bogachev:

Speaking at news conferences in Washington and Lisbon, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze touched, among other things, on the significance of Soviet proposals for exchanging information about the armed forces and armaments of the two military-political alliances in Europe.

He said in Washington, "They have not, to put it mildly, displayed much enthusiasm for discussing the issue with us".

The heads of state and government of NATO countries at the alliance's summit in Brussels, in the meantime, publicly complained that the military potential and actions of the Warsaw Treaty allegedly continue to be veiled in secrecy.

In a final document they even promised to elaborate measures to ensure greater openness about military activities and actions in Europe.

Those statements by the Atlanticists in Brussels have proved propaganda bluff.

Recent days have shown that extra complications in the way of solving the issue of cuts in armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe result precisely from U.S. unwillingness to take part in a reciprocal gesture of openness-an exchange of data concerning the armed forces of the two military alliances.

NATO leaders as yet prefer to talk about eliminating disbalances only where the arms of the Warsaw Treaty will have to be reduced. They "forget" all about the weapons in which an advantage is held by NATO, for instance, combat helicopters and battlefield aircraft.

Military balance is no longer a reliable deterrent, the Pentagon commanders say. The U.S. permanent representative to the NATO Council, Alton Keel, urged the alliance to use its advantages where essential.

The official representatives of NATO countries are calling ever more openly for military superiority on all flanks in Europe.

In Washington they apparently believe that exchanging objective information about the potentials of the conventional forces of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO in Europe can hamper the realization of these plans.

Bloc Foreign Ministers To Meet in Sofia

LD252024 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 2000 GMT 25 Mar 88

[Text] Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vadim Loginov has reported that the Foreign Ministers' Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Organization is to convene for a meeting in the Bulgarian capital, Sofia, at the end of this month. The Soviet Foreign Minister, Eduard Shevardnadze, is expected to brief his colleagues on the results of his talks just over in Washington. Vadim Loginov also said the Sofia meeting is to center on urgent efforts to work out a mandate for future talks on cutting back armed forces and conventional arms in Europe from the Atlantic to the Ural Mountains.

Shevardnadze Leaves for Sofia

LD280906 Moscow Domestic in Russian 0830 GMT 28 Mar 88

[Text] Eduard Shevardnadze, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and USSR foreign minister, today left Moscow for Sofia to attend the meeting of foreign ministers of the Warsaw Treaty states. At the airport he was seen off by Comrade Yakovlev, Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary, and other officials. Pankov, Bulgarian ambassador to the USSR, was also present.

Arrives for Meeting

LD281020 Moscow TASS in English 1016 GMT 28 Mar 88

[Text] Sofia March 28 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, foreign minister of the USSR, today arrived in Sofia to attend the meeting of the foreign ministers of the Warsaw Treaty member states.

At the airport the Soviet guest was met by Petr Mladenov, member of the Political Bureau of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee, foreign minister of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and other officials.

CEMA Planning Officials Meet in Sofia 22-24 Mar

LD242316 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 24 Mar 88

[Text] A meeting of the CEMA Committee for Planning Cooperation took place in Sofia 22-24 March. Participating were leading officials of the central planning bodies of the CEMA member countries.

The Soviet delegation was headed by Comrade Maslyukov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member, USSR Council of Ministers first deputy chairman, and USSR Gosplan chairman.

The committee examined and submitted to the CEMA Executive Committee a draft collective concept of the international socialist division of labor for the period 1991-2005. In the course of the discussion of this concept, the strategic aims for further improving cooperation and developing socialist economic integration and measures to deepen and broaden cooperation among the CEMA member countries in the major sectors of the national economy were determined.

The committee examined the draft long-term programs for multilateral specialization and production cooperation by the CEMA member countries for the period up to the year 2000 in the sphere of machine building and the radiotechnical, electronic, and chemical industries.

Zhivkov Receives Maslyukov

PM231605 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Mar 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Coincidence of Goals"]

[Text] Sofia, 22 Mar—T. Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee general secretary and Bulgarian State Council chairman, received today Yu.D. Maslyukov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member, USSR Council of Ministers chairman, and USSR Gosplan chairman, who is here in connection with the 41st session of the CEMA Committee on Cooperation in the Sphere of Planning Activity.

In the course of the conversation, which took place in a cordial, comradely atmosphere, information was exchanged on the course of restructuring in both countries. Satisfaction was expressed at the development of direct production and scientific and technical ties, and the prospects for them were examined.

Cooperation in the sphere of planning activity between the Soviet Union and Bulgaria was assessed positively, and special attention was devoted to the new role of the two fraternal countries' planning organizations.

Maslyukov Returns to Moscow

PM241251 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Mar 88 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Return to Moscow"]

[Text] Yu.D. Maslyukov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member, USSR Council of Ministers first deputy chairman, and USSR Gosplan chairman, returned to Moscow from Sofia 23 March. He had been in Bulgaria in connection with a regular session of the CEMA Committee on Cooperation in the Sphere of Planning Activity.

He was met at the airport by V.I. Dolgikh, Politburo candidate member and CPSU Central Committee secretary, and by other officials.

The welcoming party included G. Pankov, Bulgarian ambassador to the USSR.

'International Observers Roundtable'

LD271622 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1130 GMT 27 Mar 88

["International Observers Roundtable" program, presented by All-Union Radio commentator Vyacheslav Georgiyevich Lavrentyev, with Valentin Sergeyevich Zorin, Central Television and All-Union Radio political observer; Vitaliy Ivanovich Kobysh, IZVESTIYA political observer; and Viktor Nikolayevich Levin, All-Union Radio commentator]

[Text] [Lavrentyev] Hello, esteemed comrades! The main international event last week, one that is of special interest for us and for the international community as a whole, was the visit to Washington by Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze, USSR minister of foreign affairs. This visit and his talks with George Shultz, U.S. secretary of state, were a continuation of the Soviet-U.S. dialogue, which of late has been determining the mainline direction of world politics. It is gratifying to see that this dialogue is becoming more and more intensive. In 2 and 1/2 years, 23 meetings have already taken place at the level of foreign minister and secretary of state alone. A joint Soviet-U.S. statement was published on the results of this latest Washington meeting. The Soviet foreign minister also spoke about these results at a press conference. I would like those taking part in today's roundtable discussion to talk about the special features of this meeting in particular, as well as about what surrounds the meeting, as journalists sometimes put it.

[Zorin] I think that one very important result of the Washington meeting between the USSR foreign minister and the secretary of state is the fact that a date has been fixed for a visit to Moscow by Reagan, President of the United States, which will be the fourth Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in recent years. These meetings play a very significant role. They are themselves important stages in world politics and especially in Soviet-U.S. relations. The fact that such a meeting is going to take place in Moscow at the end of May and the beginning of June is of primary political importance. I would like to draw our listeners' attention to the following: When this meeting was announced in the newspapers, as well as on radio and television, there was no reaction of a sensational nature. I didn't see any such reaction in our own country. Everyone regarded it as something normal, expected, something that fits into the train of events; nor was it received as an out-of-the-ordinary sensation in the world press. So, this is apparently already regarded as being part of the normal order of things. That's how quickly we get used to everything! But, comrades, just think: If 5 or 6 years ago someone had said to you that President Reagan was coming to Moscow, how would you have reacted? What's happening in the world? How would such an announcement have been received? Well, at best, no doubt, it would have been received as the greatest sensation, and at worst as a failed April fool's joke by someone, or some such thing. I am mentioning this in order to stress the length of the road along which we have traveled during this short space of time, how substantial is the turn-around that has taken place both in Soviet-U.S. relations and in the political process taking place on the world arena. Indeed, the politician who began his activity in Washington by declaring a crusade against the Soviet Union...

[Kobysh, interrupting] ...against socialism.

[Zorin]...against socialism as a whole, the politician who declared us all to be the empire of evil, is now preparing for his trip to Moscow.

[Kobysh] Valentin Sergeyevich, I'm just going to interrupt you for a second. In this instance the comments you have made coincide in full with the comments of leading U.S. observers. The accent is being placed on the following: Who could have thought such a thing? I wonder whether President Reagan has changed or has the world changed?

[Zorin] You know, I think that they have both changed, Vitaliy Ivanovich. In the first place, you can't disregard the subjective factor in politics. It does play a part and it would be absolutely wrong to assert that the 1988 model of Ronald Reagan is the same man as the 1980 model of Ronald Reagan. What has been said by the U.S. President following the announcement of the date of his visit to Moscow has included the point that during this time he has gotten to know the Soviet leader well, that he trusts him, and that he therefore considers talks with him to be fruitful and expedient. That, so to speak, is if we are talking about the personality factor. We say that Reagan has changed. Vitaliy Ivanovich, dear colleagues, let's be frank about it.

[Levin] Reagan is not the only one to have changed.

[Kobysh] We have changed and (?Reagan) has changed.

[Zorin] We have changed, too. We have changed because—let's look at what we all said and wrote about the same leaders at the beginning of the 1980's. It has hardly withstood, say, the test of time. You and I have changed, the politicians have changed, but in the main it is the situation that has changed, as a consequence of which there are these personal changes.

[Kobysh] But I do not think that Reagan's ideological outlook has changed. He remains what he was, he stands by his position, and, of course, there has been no change in our view about who we are, where we are going, and what we are seeking. In this respect, there are no changes. However, both sides have become more realistic and more flexible in their approach to the solution of problems upon which universal survival depends.

[Zorin] I don't think that any of our listeners will for a moment think that there's any doubt about our positions of principle with regard to imperialism. No one is harboring any illusions about Reagan's having suddenly turned from being a conservative bourgeois politician into being a progressive public figure. It is quite obvious that in the first place this has been brought about by certain particular circumstances, and in the second place that what is now known as the new thinking—the shaping of which our own country and our own leaders have been playing the leading role—that this new thinking is making it possible for people to look at the realities of the present day in a completely different way, to examine in a different way what is and is not the main thing, to approach in a different way the task of preserving the human race on the earth, and to understand that the main contradiction in today's world, the divide today, no matter how important our own ideology is and no matter that our partners hold to their own ideological positions, is nevertheless not between this ideology and that ideology but between common sense and the alternative, which is the end of mankind.

[Levin] I don't think it will be out of place here to say that an understanding of this truth is penetrating more and more deeply into the consciousness of Western politicians.

[Kobysh] Yes. Even though they do not make use of the term new thinking, in one way or another they, too, are obliged to uphold it.

[Levin] They recognize it. It seems to me that for Reagan, no doubt, it wasn't easy, but he has shown himself to be a political figure on a major scale, a political figure who does not stick to dogma, but who takes a broader view of the world. And he is not the only one to whom this applies. In recent times, we have been noting quite often—and with good reason—the fact that some interesting ideas and some interesting proposals have been coming from, say, the West German Government. This influence of what we call the new political thinking upon the actions of political leaders in various countries is undoubtedly an extremely hopeful sign. And this is also important because, of course, it is not just Soviet-U.S. relations that are important, but it is necessary to develop relations in all directions, as they say, although Soviet-U.S. relations do remain the key ones.

[Zorin] I would like to note two things, Viktor Nikolayevich, in connection with what you have been saying. I think that an important circumstance with regard to the forthcoming visit is going to be something that is not mentioned in the official agenda of the visit, something that has not been under discussion now between Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze and Secretary of State Shultz. What I am thinking of, if you like, is the psychological factor, and psychology does have a part to play in international relations.

I remember the first meeting between Mr Reagan and Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. It was in Geneva during the first summit meeting between the leaders of our two countries. It so happened that I was alongside Mikhail Sergeyevich, I was standing not far away, and I saw the expression on the face of the U.S. President as he got to know the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. It was virtually the first communist that he had ever seen in his whole life—and on top of that, it was the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee! Such a range of feelings was reflected on his face that, well, I was very sorry on that occasion that I am not an artist and am unable to draw. There was astonishment—astonishment, perhaps, with himself—and amazing curiosity, too. He looked into the face of Mikhail Sergeyevich, shook his hand for a long time, and I think he was even surprised that standing in front of him was an ordinary, normal person, just like Reagan himself, and not some terrible demon as communists have been and are being depicted by some propagandists. It has to be said that in many ways in the past Reagan has been guided by his impressions, which were created by U.S. propaganda. In this connection it will be very important, in my view, during the forthcoming meeting that the U.S. President and those coming with him see not just our country's leading figures but that they visit Moscow and see the Soviet Union as well. I think that both Reagan's personal dealings with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and the U.S. President's visit to our country will have as one of their consequences the fact that many of the illusions or many of the myths in which they themselves have believed will simply turn out to be groundless.

The second thing that I would like to stress is this: Of course we must assess the understanding about the meeting positively, but we cannot fail to see the internal struggle which is currently taking place in the United States with regard to the forthcoming meeting. This has already begun. It is taking place in political circles; it is taking place in the administration. I also do not rule out the possibility that it is taking place within the mind of the U.S. President himself. There are some very contradictory factors in operation. There are some very conservative elements. There is also the desire to prevent this meeting from becoming a new kind of breakthrough. So nothing is perfectly simple now, nor will it be, obviously, during the forthcoming summit meeting. We must look at this realistically.

[Lavrentyev] Valentin Sergeyevich, if we can get back now to the real Soviet-U.S. problems, the question that crops up most frequently is whether or not it is going to be possible to provide a solid content for the summit meeting in the time that remains before it takes place. Is it going to be possible to reach agreement with a view to signing some documents of substance?

[Levin] What we are talking about in the first place, of course, is a treaty for a 50 percent reduction in strategic offensive armaments. But, you know, before we deal with this question in detail I would like to draw attention to one commentary by NBC. The following point, for example, is now becoming clear; namely, that the Americans are very worried by the question of what's going to happen if that treaty is signed and if, in the light of that treaty, it is going to be necessary to set up an appropriate inspection and verification structure [struktura inspektsiy i proverok]. Are we going to have to allow the Russians onto our top nuclear submarines, the Americans ask. We know that the Americans—and not just the Americans—have for a long time used the issue of monitoring and inspections [o kontrole, o proverkakh] as grounds for depicting our position as a harsh and unconstructive one. There was some foundation for putting the issue in that way. We have approached the problems of monitoring and inspection [kontrol i proverka] from positions that at one time no doubt were justified. But life has moved forward and we have not always kept up with it.

As soon as we took up a very precise position, corresponding to the spirit of the times, corresponding, too, to the new political thinking, then it turns out that we are in favor of a more thorough verification [proverka] than is the Western side. This was revealed, in particular, during the working out of the treaty eliminating medium- and shorter-range missiles and it is being seen now. It is a very important point and attention has to be devoted to it. On the question of whether this treaty is going to happen or not, in principle, I think, one can set out one's thoughts as follows: If it does happen, that's excellent; but if it doesn't happen, it's no tragedy. The work is going to go on. I very much want it to happen.

[Kobysh] The point is that the train has left the station. Whether it will arrive at its destination on time cannot be answered by anyone at the moment since a new route has to be learned. However, what is important is that it has left. It is interesting that after Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze and Secretary of State Shultz ended their talks, they gave in their news conferences, all in all, the same assessment of the progress of the discussions. These assessments are very interesting. After all, a wide range of extremely important problems was discussed, from human rights and regional problems to reducing and eliminating strategic weapons. Both sides came to the conclusion that overall the talks were not merely constructive and business-like, but that views effectively coincided on many fundamental issues. Divergences of views remain and evidently will for a long time, but practically all of them are unadulterated by the propaganda that had existed previously, as is well known. A characteristic feature is as follows: When you start to discuss this or that issue with the Americans, they begin saying: but you have more tanks or you have more artillery; and when you start to show the figures, the babble of propaganda begins. The fact that Comrade Yazov, minister of defense, and Carlucci, U.S. secretary for defense, have now met and sat down to begin comparing these figures and that we have proposed putting all these figures on the table in April or May is the most resolute step toward this propaganda being stopped, as it were, altogether.

[Zorin] In reply to the question raised by Vyacheslav Georgiyevich as to whether or not a draft treaty on a 50 percent cut in strategic offensive weapons will be prepared in time for the meeting in Moscow, I would like to say the following: First of all, there are possibilities that there will be time. Shevardnadze spoke quite specifically about this in Washington. Although there is a great deal of work ahead, the possibilities are there. Second, it seems to me that the election campaign in the United States of America is having an unfavorable influence on the course of the preparatory work. Why unfavorable? The opposite would seem true. All the polls are saying that the majority of voters are in favor of progress at the talks and that the politicians who, in a preelection year, are obliged to listen to the voters, ought to take this into account. However, there are political considerations and there are those of sheer politicking. The Democrats, let us say, competing with the Republicans, are, I dare say, not so delighted at the prospect that their political adversary might, before the elections, acquire such a weighty trump card as the conclusion of a second important agreement. They are not against the agreement, but they would have liked to achieve it themselves and so, by using various maneuvers, they hold this matter up, taking into account that the stop watch is already ticking on the present administration's term of office.

[Lavrentyev] There, you have now recalled the fact that there is a preelection campaign underway in the United States and that the Reagan presidency is generally coming to an end. In this connection, the following very interesting problem arises: The point is that Reagan has been an impassioned champion of SDI, the Strategic Defense Initiative. Now that he is leaving the White House, do you think that this initiative, the Star Wars program, will survive his administration or not?

[Zorin] You know, Vitaliy Ivanovich and I have discussed this issue and discovered that we have different points of view—slightly different—and I think that you are egging us on to a debate like that.

[Lavrentyev] To elucidate the truth.

[Zorin] Right. I will give my ideas briefly. In general, I am inclined to think that in its present form, this favorite idea of Ronald Reagan will not survive the Reagan presidency. I do not mean to say that it will be rejected out of hand, but there are three circumstances according to which the next President will have to reassess everything very seriously or start from scratch. The first is the most serious—and U.S. scientists are saying this too—namely, that at the present stage of scientific and technical development the program is unrealistic and unfeasible. There needs to be a serious leap forward in science, and the technology for it needs to become realistic. Second, the cost of the program—this is currently estimated as $1.5 to 2 trillion—is more than the U.S. economy can stand at present, at least in the form in which the program is proposed today. Third, even among military specialists there are great doubts as to whether this program of creating an antinuclear missile umbrella over the United States could perform the task it faces. The Americans are too pragmatic a people to waste millions of millions of dollars buying something when they are not convinced of its effectiveness and usefulness.

[Kobysh] Vyacheslav Georgiyevich, in the spirit of glasnost and democracy which we have at this roundtable, let me add something and give my ideas. Let me start by saying that none of the points expressed by Valentin Sergeyevich meet with any objection from me. I, too, believe that SDI, as Reagan's favorite brainchild, has charmed not terribly competent people in the United States who believe that if this space shield is set up the United States will be invulnerable. This is an illusion, and no doubt it will vanish along with Reagan. However, I am afraid that the roots of SDI, that is, the roots of the Star Wars program—and I do not just mean research, but plans for deploying weapons in space as well—will reamin in the United States. They will stay in the laboratories, in the Pentagon's plans, and in the corporations already at work. The programs have been launched. The military-industrial complex has already earned a great deal from them and intends to earn still more. Despite the fact that they are good at counting money in the United States, I agree: The military-industrial complex is not going to give up these profits easily.

[Lavrentyev] As a novice on this program, I think that time passes extraordinarily quickly at this table, and it would not be fair if we failed to dwell on a very interesting problem, despite the fact that it is just a regional one. The fact is that after 8 years of bloody clashes in Nicaragua, Central America, the Sandinista Government has a last managed to attain an agreement, albeit a temporary one, on a cease-fire with the contras. How do you assess this event?

[Kobysh] I think that this is a very interesting and very important achievement by the Sandinista Government. It is noteworthy that the talks between the government, between the delegation which represents the government of Nicaragua and the contras' representatives, were held at the same time as talks between the foreign minister...

[Lavrentyev, interrupting] ...of the Soviet Union.

[Kobysh] ...and the U.S. secretary of state. In other words, the Soviet-U.S. talks constituted, as it were, the background of and gave an impetus to the talks in Managua. I do not know whether this helped or what instructions the contras received from their benefectors and donors. But, you see, they agreed to a cease-fire starting 1 April for 60 days. At the beginning of April the talks will be continued. I am not inclined to feel euphoric or to believe that the matter has been resolved and the war ended, as it were. I think that things are not that simple. What is behind it is the contras' aspiration just to survive and to last. They are now in a desperately difficult situation.

[Lavrentyev] As to Nicaragua, the argument of the Washington leaders is clear. They blatantly state that they do not agree with the idea of having another Marxist government around the corner from them. But then I wonder how can one explain the fact that they are now crusading against Noriega, a strong Panamanian leader. Panama has actually always been a state firmly adhering to the norms of bourgeois democracy, if not a model of it, and suddenly...

[Kobysh, interrupting] Vyacheslav Georgiyevich, I think that it is not against Noriega that Washington is crusading but against Panama, against Panama's sovereign right to the canal, against the agreement that has been signed and according to which Panama is to become the owner of this canal by the year 2000, enjoying full rights. If somebody replaces Noriega and takes the stand that the canal belongs to Panama, then a crusade will be declared against this person, too. Just the same as a crusade was once declared against General Torrijos. Hence, military exercises are being held; hence, an attempt is being made to focus the attack on one person. But in principle, this is an attack against the nation of Panama.

[Zorin] I would like to say this: We have named a number of areas in which, unfortunately, one has to say that the U.S. policy remains today as it was yesterday, as it was in the past. One cannot fail to see that the changes that are taking place in the world today are not exerting an influence upon the traditional lines of U.S. policy, at least not as actively as one would like. The Americans are not changing their methods or their concepts in the way indicated by the realities of today's world. At the same time, however, it is absolutely obvious that today the United States, in considering its policy in different regions, has to reckon both with a world undergoing change and with the position of the Soviet Union. The very fact that at the talks between the U.S. secretary of state and Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze not only were bilateral relations between our countries discussed, but also key problems of world politics, shows that the Soviet-U.S. dialogue is reaching beyond the limits of bilateral relations and is a real and effective factor in the whole political process under way on the international arena.

[Lavrentyev] Our time has come to an end. What is now left for me to do is to thank the participants of today's roundtable. Good-bye comrades.

Chance for Arms Treaty, Afghan Settlement Viewed

LD272026 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1400 GMT 27 Mar 88

[From the "International Panorama" program, presented by Georgiy Zubkov]

[Text] Hello, comrades! Is there a real possibility of preparing a treaty on strategic offensive weapons by the time President Reagan arrives in Moscow? Will it be possible to agree on matters relating to an Afghan settlement? Will the crisis situation in Central America be resolved? The events of the past week have, to a large extent, provided answers to these most urgent matters of international life. And so, on to the problems of nuclear disarmament. They were the main point in the talks conducted in Washington by the foreign ministers of the Soviet Union and the United States, Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze and George Shultz.

This was their second of three meetings planned prior to the new Soviet-U.S. summit dialogue. Following Geneva, Reykjavik, and Washington, the dialogue will be continued in Moscow from 29 May to 2 June. So how did the ministers' talks end in Washington? A certain amount of progress has been achieved. But, the joint statement notes, it is necessary to strive for considerably greater advancement.

Is it possible to complete work on a treaty for the reduction and limitation of strategic offensive weapons by the end of May, so that it might be signed by the leaders of the two coutnries? To judge from the ministers' statements, it is possible, but no guarantee has been given. There remain serious differences. Wherein do they lie? They include matters relating to verification and the counting of air-launched cruise missiles, as well as the coordination of a reduction in strategic offensive weapons with the ABM Treaty.

The limitation on testing and developing elements of a space-based ABM system gives rise to most of the contradictions. It is well known that there is an incompatibility between Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative and the ABM Treaty as it was signed in 1972. The Soviet side insists on preservation of the ABM Treaty; this explains our position. The Soviet minister of foreign affairs said bluntly at his press conference in Washington that there would be no treaty for a 50 percent reduction in strategic offensive weapons if the ABM Treaty were not observed at least for the duration of an agreed period. This is a condition, and we agreed on this at the summit level; there is nothing new in this.

In Washington there was also discussion of human rights, humanitarian questions, and regional problems. Let us dwell on the situation with regard to an Afghan settlement. The signing of an agreement in Geneva is running into difficulty. A new obstacle has been added: the question of the border between Afghanistan and Pakistan, which has been raised by the Pakistani side. In Washington the question of Soviet aid to Afghanistan has arisen; Comrade Shevardnadze explained that the Soviet Union has commitments to the Afghan Government, that these commitments have a basis in a treaty, and that the Soviet side has no intention of reviewing the treaty.

Gerasimov Views CEMA-EEC Cooperation Issues

PM241209 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 22 Mar 88 p 7

[Observer Gennadiy Gerasimov article under the "World on Tuesday" rubric: "Leiden Motifs"]

[Text] Leiden-Moscow—People have been talking about the future in the old university (founded in 1575) of the old Dutch city of Leiden (well known since the 9th century). On 17-18 March, the young organization "Association of the Governing Bodies of European Students," set up in 1985, held a "congress" or, more precisely, a seminar, on the subject of the development of EEC foreign economic relations.

Soviet representatives were also invited—for the first time.

The concept of "Europe" is often abused. It has happened in history that personal ambitions have been concealed behind ostentatious concern for "Europe." Hitler—to listen to him—was only "saving" Europe from "bolshevism."

During the years of the "cold war," our justified apprehension took shape with regard to European building, which appeared to be reinforcing NATO's West European flank. And so it was. Nevertheless, there has been progress, albeit gradual and shot through with contradictions, in the sphere of creating a unified "common market" (there is no analogy to this in CEMA, and none is envisaged) and West European-wide political institutes (the European Parliament involving communist deputies), and in forgetting old quarrels.

A new political reality has emerged which must be taken into account, and not only by us: A competitor for America and Japan is gathering strength in the international economy.

CEMA has long been prepared to establish official relations with the EEC. But what will they say to one another?

Lord Plumb, president of the European Parliament, in pointing out that EEC trade with CEMA countries in Europe amounts to only 7 percent of their total foreign trade, asserted that if the EEC wants to take advantage of the "tremendous untapped potential" in this market, then it is necessary "alongside their own reforms to contribute to their industrial and technological development."

While supporting the idea, Hendrik van Buuren warned that it will not be easy. He has for many years been the head of the Institute of Dutch-Soviet Relations and in his speech cited examples of bureaucratic indifference on our part to developing these relations in the trade sphere. But he noted that things are changing with restructuring.

"Is it impossible to substitute cooperation for arms?" he concluded his speech.

The questions put by the audience are interesting. How can you coordinate contrary methods of economic activity and organize cooperation between the countries of the Western and Eastern parts of the European Continent? What can be done for young people to get to know one another better? Why can't ruble convertibility be introduced tomorrow?

Franz Ludwig Schenck Count von Stauffenberg, member deputy of the European Parliament and son of Claus Stauffenberg, who took part in the attempt on Hitler's life in 1944, participated for the "Western" side in the debate organized at the congress. He shifted from economics to politics and mentioned that the true aim of setting up "European" communities was "to find a West European answer to the challenge of the times." He added that membership of "European" organizations is, in his opinion, only possible for countries belonging to "one ideological system."

I do not know about membership as such. But another thought prevailed at the meeting in Leiden: that of attempting, if not to overcome, then to reduce to a minimum the ideological confrontation in Europe and the associated military confrontation by establishing economic cooperation.

This probably will not happen quickly. But it is important to agree to strive together.

Moscow Roundtable Debates 'Global Modeling'

PM241439 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Mar 88 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report: "To Resolve Global Problems"]

[Text] Ways to resolve problems common to all mankind—problems of war and peace, environmental protection, the settlement of international conflicts, and questions of economic development—are the center of attention for the participants in a "roundtable" session which opened in Moscow on 23 March. The theme of this international meeting—"Global Modeling and the Political Sciences"—defines the substance of the debate.

K. Mushakoji, president of the International Political Science Association, under whose auspices the "roundtable" has been organized, delivered a welcoming speech to representatives of the social sciences—scientists from socialist and capitalist states. G.Kh. Shakhnazarov, president of the Soviet Political Science Association, emphasized the topicality of the subjects under discussion for the contemporary world.

Academician D.M. Gvishiani delivered a report entitled "New Political Thinking and Global Modeling."

Conference Concludes Debates

LD260113 Moscow TASS in English 2001 GMT 25 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 25 TASS—In the nuclear-space age there is no alternative to the settlement of global conflicts by peaceful means. This is the unanimous conclusion of the participants in an international round-table conference "Global Modelling and Political Sciences" that worked for three days in Moscow. They noted that the activity of social scientists must nowadays be assessed at such criterions as contribution to disarmament, lowering of nuclear risk and avertion of ecological catastrophe.

The importance of international cooperation of political scientists is highlighted by the fact that prominent social scientists from the USSR, USA, Bulgaria, GDR, the Netherlands, Italy, Yugoslavia and many other countries took part in the round-table conference.

The debate showed that present-day international life requires the creation of higher standards in the area of international law, Professor of the University of Delhi K. Sanhagar said at the closing meeting. He declared for making political thinking universal which would enable humanity to move away from the brink of the abyss of war, to avert nuclear menace forever.

The present round-table meeting was fruitful and gave much food for thought, President of the International Political Science Association Kinhide Mushakoji told a TASS correspondent. The time and venue of the forum were chosen most suitably as scientists from many countries received an opportunity to familiarise themselves with the processes of perestroyka, with the establishment of new political thinking in the Soviet Union. Problems of interest to scientists, however, are so wide-ranging that they cannot be discussed completely within a few days. The debate will be continued at a world congress of the International Political Science Association to be held in Washington this year, he said.

WPC Session Debates Peace Groups' Cooperation

LD202144 Moscow TASS in English 2115 GMT 20 Mar 88

[Text] Prague March 20 TASS—TASS correspondent Yuriy Trushin reports:

Discussions in working sections drew to an end at the session of the World Peace Council presidium under way here. The debates centered on pressing issues of cooperation among various organisations of peace campaigners in Europe, North America, Africa, Asia, the Pacific region, Latin America, the Middle East and the Mediterranean.

Participants in the discussion expressed the common aspiration to find ways to relieve tensions in the world and end regional conflicts. They emphasized that the process of ameliorating the international situation, strengthening international peace and security and building confidence among states largely hinged on the continuation of the constructive dialogue between the USSR and the United States, on the persistent implementation of the peace initiatives advanced by several European countries lately.

Tomorrow, the participants in the enlarged session of the World Peace Council presidium will familiarize themselves with the sights of Prague, Brno, Kladno, Rokitzan and other Czechoslovak cities.

Adamishin Interviewed on Human Rights Issue

AU222114 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
18 Mar 88 p 6

[Interview with Anatoliy Adamishin, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, with Kveta Benesova in Prague: "Our Positions Are Growing Stronger, Not Weaker"; date not given—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Excerpts] A few days ago Anatoliy Adamishin, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, was in Prague on a working visit. We asked him for an interview on human rights.

[Benesova] Where do the problems of human rights stand in current Soviet foreign policy?

[Adamishin] In the same place as military, political, economic, and ecological issues. Humanitarian orientation and the "human rights" theme are now on the same level as these basic trends. At the same time, I would like to stress that this is the common line of socialist countries. [passage omitted]

[Benesova] It is beyond dispute that cooperation in this sphere is possible within the socialist community; but what do you think of such cooperation with the bourgeois states?

[Adamishin] It is not easy to find a common language on this with the Western countries. Our concepts of human rights differ. At the same time, we are constantly running into efforts to make us believe that the bourgeois concept of human rights is the maximum that could be achieved by mankind, that it is the best concept of all, and that all the socialist countries need do is to reach the bourgeois level on this issue. Quite understandably we do not accept this. [passage omitted] However, certain possibilities of cooperation do exist here. In fact, the socialist countries themselves have begun raising such problems with greater energy and acumen than in the past. Formerly, when international forums assessed the humanitarian issues, they did so mostly in the form of mutual reproaches: This is bad in your country, they told us, and this is bad in yours, we replied. (These tendencies persist in the West to this very day.) However, we are now striving to increasingly shift these deliberations from the level of confrontation, useless reproaches, and propaganda exercises to the sphere of cooperation.

[Benesova] Can you give a specific example?

[Adamishin] There are certain international legal foundations for cooperation, pacts on human rights. [passage omitted] Let me be more specific and mention our relations with the United States. We are now striving to transfer our dialogue with the Americans from the river bed of disputes to a search for points of contact, where bilateral cooperation would be possible—for instance, in the struggle against alcoholism or drug addiction, problems in which cooperation would be advantageous for both sides, for us and the Americans. [passage omitted]

Primary cooperation in these matters, too (as in other spheres), is with our friends. Within the framework of restructuring, we have made a start in our own country. The formalities for Soviet citizens exiting and re-entering our country, as well as for the exchange of citizens, have been greatly simplified. There are still many problems in this area, and we are not closing our eyes to them, but significant steps have already been taken.

[Benesova] Recently many people in the West have been saying that some revealing articles in the Soviet press about illegal practices prove the existence of violations of human rights in the Soviet Union. What do you think about this?

[Adamishin] Let me first say that what we are now doing in the Soviet Union, we are not doing to please others or because we are under pressure—the transformations in the USSR mainly serve our own interests. [passage omitted] The advantages of democratization, of providing data to the public, and the people's increased social activity are far greater than the losses which the Western use of articles carried by our press can mean in the propaganda sense. Mikhail Gorbachev has repeatedly said that we will not get into a panic because of this.

We ourselves are now frankly speaking about all these things. I would like to recall that this is a continuation along the Leninist road. [passage omitted]

[Benesova] Only a short time ago the United States and other Western countries were making an improvement in relations with socialist countries dependent upon a so-called solution of the human rights issue. What is the present situation? Have they changed their stand; has it remained the same?

[Adamishin] The tenor has changed. During such closed deliberations as summit talks, talks on higher levels, or else working meetings, these problems are assessed in a businesslike way and on the basis of equal rights. But in propaganda this topic is still presented in the spirit of pronouncements like "the Russians have let somebody out because we have exerted pressure on them." Those who are really familiar with the background of such events know very well that they are the result of our internal processes, and not of external pressure or our wanting to please somebody. We have been subjected to pressure for so many years—and all without avail.

Serious people know this; they, too, say that assessing humanitarian issues is a two-way street. And the less serious people, people playing a role on the propaganda stage, will hardly change.

We are striving to exclude unnecessary polemics, but I think that they will most probably continue—for the positions are far too different, from an ideological viewpoint.

[Benesova] The Soviet Union has suggested convening an international forum on human rights in Moscow. Why have you come out with this initiative, and what do you expect it to yield?

[Adamishin] The proposal is based on our new concept in approaching international affairs. One used to constantly stress to us that the most important issue is that of human rights. So we said: Right, you are concerned about the issue of human rights—so we have a pan-European conference. Let us assess the problem in Moscow. [passage omitted]

[Benesova] And what was the reaction to this?

[Adamishin] The proposal was primarily supported by all fraternal socialist countries. The neutral and nonaligned states are not averse to it, and the same can be said of certain Western NATO members. For instance, FRG Minister Genscher has repeatedly stated that he is in favor of the idea. The Italians also support it, even if in a less committed way. But officially the Western countries are noncommittal. Whenever we ask the Americans outright, they say that they are not against the idea, and then start mentioning all kinds of conditions, begin procrastinating, and so forth.

The question is whether the Western states are ripe to accept the idea of a forum—and, on a broader scale, whether they are ripe to conduct a constructive dialogue. Because here, too, a struggle is going on in the international arena; there are clashes. I think that our positions (and I mean the positions of socialist countries) in this struggle and in the humanitarian sphere are growing stronger, not weaker.

[Benesova] I thank you for the interview.

United States & Canada

Reagan Calls Upcoming Summit 'Good News'

LD262158 Moscow TASS in English 2139 GMT 26 Mar 88

[Text] Washington March 26 TASS—President Reagan said that the "lengthy" talks held in Washington this week between USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, were "useful".

During the discussions held, noted the head of the White House in his weekly radio address, "some progress was made here and there in various areas, but there's much more that needs to be done given the importance of the topics discussed". According to Reagan, the negotiations held in Washington "made clear how difficult the issues are" which are to be tackled by the Soviet Union and the United States.

The President called "good news" an understanding reached on a period of holding the new Soviet-American summit in Moscow. He also pointed out that the signing of the Soviet-American Treaty on Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, which is now being examined by the U.S. Senate, was "an important accomplishment" of the previous summits with Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. Reagan expressed the hope that the Senate "will-...speedily approve what amounts to the first real nuclear arms reductions ever achieved".

Comparison of Joint Soviet-U.S. Statement

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 25 March in its Second Edition on page 5 publishes a TASS report under the headline "Joint Soviet-American Statement." This report has been compared to the 24 March Moscow TASS English report published in the 24 March DAILY REPORT on pages 9-10, revealing the following variations:

Column two, first paragraph, first sentence reads: TASS—A joint statement was distributed on the results...(omitting "Soviet-American" and substituting "distributed" for "adopted");

Second paragraph, first sentence reads:...meetings to review Soviet-U.S. relations and...(omitting "developments in");

Third paragraph, first sentence reads:...coming months in the sphere of arms limitation and reduction, human rights and...(rephrasing);

Fourth paragraph, last sentence reads:...of areas, but considerably greater progress must be made. (rephrasing)

Sixth paragraph, only sentence reads:///discussions on arms limitation and reduction. (substituting "limitation and reduction" for "control");

Seventh paragraph, sentence two reads:...of understanding, developed in accordance with the instructions given to the ministers at their meeting in Moscow. Reemphasizing their commitment to effective verification measures, they agreed that the Soviet and U.S. negotiators in Geneva will seek to resolve the remaining differences in these documents and report on progress at the next ministerial meeting.

The ministers continued their review of the remaining unresolved key issues associated with...(picking up eighth paragraph, supplying "meeting" in two places, deleting "February" and "substantive," and rephrasing);

Page 10, column one, second paragraph, first sentence reads:...also reviewed the situation at the talks on nuclear and space arms in terms of agreement on the question of observing the ABM Treaty, as discussed at the Washington summit meeting. They instructed the Soviet and U.S. delegation in Geneva to accelerate the preparation of a joint draft agreement building on the...(rephrasing);

Fifth paragraph, first sentence reads:///the April ministerial meeting; ...(supplying "meeting");

Column two, first paragraph, first sentence reads:...reviewed the situation in the sphere of armed forces and conventional arms, dwelling in particular on the question of the situation at the Vienna meeting in terms of the agreement on the mandate for talks on armed forces and conventional arms, and expressed the...(rephrasing);

Third paragraph, first sentence reads:...link between the Washington and Moscow Nuclear Risk Reduction-...(supplying "Washington and Moscow.")

Documents Question Bush Role in Contra Affair

LD281010 Moscow TASS in English 0946 GMT 28 Mar 88

[Text] Washington March 28 TASS—TASS correspondent I.Ignatyev reports:

The two classified White House memorandums published by the special Senate commission investigating the Iran-contra affair have raised new questions on the role of Vice President George Bush in this scandal.

Bush categorically rejects any knowledge about the covert funding of the Nicaraguan counter-revolutionaries, which went around the U.S. Congress. The declassified documents show that Reagan and Bush have repeatedly approved measures to increase the amount of weapons shipments to the contras in the period preceding the congressional ban on military aid to the Nicaraguan counter-revolutionary formations.

The author of the first of these documents Lieutenant-Colonel Oliver North, who later became a key architect of the Iran-contra covert operation, told Robert McFarlane, who at that time held the post of assistant to the President for national security affairs, on November 4, 1983 that Reagan and Bush were asked to give their consent to such increases (in arms shipments) in each previous case. In three days, McFarlane asked in a memorandum presented to the President to approve the extension in the flow of arms to the contras. This was exactly what was done: The column "yes" has the initials of the head of the administration and the postscript in the memorandum's lower corner reads that the copy was sent to the vice president.

Christian Clark, an official representative of the vice president, refused to discuss the content of the declassified memorandums but argued once again that Bush was not vigorously involved in the process to give assistance to the contras and his role only amounted to backing the administration's policy towards the Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries.

Former Congressman Michael Barnes, who headed the subcommittee on Western hemisphere affairs from 1981 to 1986, holds, however, that the documents published undercut the vice president's arguments that he supposedly knew nothing about the secret operation to fund the contras by diverting to them the money generated from the weapons sales to Iran.

Barbara Boxer, member of the House of Representatives, notes that the memorandums show that the vice president was counseled regarding specific decisions on aid to the contras in 1983 and he gave his consent.

The results of two public opinion polls published last week say that the majority of the Americans continue to believe that Bush, who now seeks Repubican presidential nomination, did not tell the whole truth about his role in the Iran-contra deal.

'Studio 9' on U.S. Presidential Elections

OW260959 Moscow Television Service in Russian
0703 GMT 26 Mar 88

["Studio 9" program presented by Professor Valentin Sergeyevich Zorin, political observer of Soviet Television and Radio, with Vitaliy Vladimirovich Zhurkin, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and Vitaliy Ivanovich Kobysh, IZVESTIYA political observer]

[Text] [Zorin] Hello, comrades. First I would like to present the participants in today's discussion in Studio 9 of Ostankino Television Center: Vitaliy Vladimirovich Zhurkin, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and Vitaliy Ivanovich Kobysh, IZVESTIYA political observer. I should say that there are a number of factors involved in our decision on a program topic, but the mail received by Studio 9, your letters, are very important. The letters we receive from you indicate our program's permanent audience consists of people who have a certain level of training and skills and who are familiar with international problems.

So I would like to note that recently there has been a great increase in the Studio 9 mail with questions about the presidential election campaign under way in the United States. The election will take place in the fall of this year. We also have received many questions about what influence the current campaign has on the U.S. foreign policy course and what can be expected from the foreign policy of the United States in connection with the coming changes in Washington, the change in government. Generally, this is a whole group of questions that are undoubtedly of interest because it is quite obvious that the United States plays a very major role in the contemporary world and is one of our major partners in international relations. Therefore, discussion of these problems is not simply an attempt to review the problems of the current election struggle but also an attempt to view a whole series of serious general questions that are of some significance in world politics.

To begin our discussion I think we must assess the present campaign situation, and I would like you to make this assessment, Vitaliy Ivanovich.

[Kobysh] Let us begin by saying that all previous election campaigns focused the attention of voters on internal issues, primarily economic ones. Now, for the first time to such an acute degree, the attention of voters is attracted to international problems. These problems are primarily arms control and Soviet-U.S. relations. That is the first point. The second new point lies in the fact that if voters previously had preferred a strong and vivid personality, today this is insufficient. Voters want to see in their president a responsible person, a person who can make decisions with foresight.

So what are the positions and chances of those running for office? With the Republicans things are simpler—or more complicated, depending on how you view this question—because after the primaries that have been held, particularly after Super Tuesday, about which much has been said, and the primaries in Illinois on 15 March, Vice President George Bush emerged as the leader. This was not unexpected. What was surprising was how quickly his competitors fell away, primarily Senator Dole. He has practically no chance of catching up with Bush.

Does this mean that Bush is a sure thing, that he is the future Republican Party candidate? I would not put it that way, just as I thought the statement of a correspondent of one of our respected newspapers was somewhat hasty when, after one of the primaries, he wrote off Bush and put Dole in first place. In a Vremya commentary, if I am not mistaken, Valentin Sergeyevich, you expressed great doubts that this was so. You turned out to be right. One cannot be hasty with these predictions.

[Zorin] I would like to add to this, that proceeding from this principle, we should not be hasty now, either...

[Kobysh, interrupting] We should not hurry.

[Zorin] ...and consider that Bush has everything sewn up.

[Kobysh] Yes.

[Zorin] Robert Dole, leader of the Republican Party in the Senate, who was considered to be one of the main presidential contenders from the Republican Party, has not left the race despite his very unfavorable showing in the primaries and despite the fact that he has considerably less convention delegates than Bush. There are some who are in a hurry to write him off completely, and there are reports that even many of his aides are advising him to withdraw from the race. Dole has not done this, and I think that the answer to the question of why this very experienced politician is still waiting for something despite the very unfavorable situation, is that he is indeed waiting for something. He is waiting for Bush to make some mistake, or for something to come up in the Irangate affair. Therefore, he considers that despite his unfavorable situation, it is too early for him to drop out of the race.

[Kobysh] As for the Democrats, here, too, there is a completely unusual situation for a U.S. election. In any case I cannot remember—we are following our 10th election campaign and as journalists and political observers we covered many of them on the spot and we can make comparisons—the Democratic Party being in such disarray at the height of an election campaign.

In my opinion there are two acute and serious problems presently facing the Democrats. They have no national leader who could lead the nation, and they cannot propose an alternative program that would be substantially different from the Republican program, even in military issues.

[Zorin] Vitaliy Ivanovich, what is your personal opinion?

[Kobysh] Well, personally, I think we have a very picturesque situation. If I could use a photographic term, then an instant picture would show that Michael Dukakis, the governor of Massachusetts, is now in the lead and is being followed by Jesse Jackson, the well-known black public figure, while everyone else is lagging far behind. However, I think this is only the current picture. The next photograph may show something entirely different. Dukakis will not lead the nation. As a figure he has insufficient stature and prominence, and he is also faulted for being of Greek extraction.

As far as Jesse Jackson is concerned, well, the assertion that a black will never become president of the United States is naturally close to the truth. Serious observers in the United States consider that the fact that Jesse Jackson is colored, that he is a black, is presently to his benefit. But, in fact, he will become neither the president nor the vice president of the United States. It has been calculated on all the computers that if he is nominated to run for president by the Democratic Party, Bush, if he is the Republican Party candidate, will deal the Democratic Party a crushing defeat in all 50 states.

This is the arithmetic and higher mathematics of this election campaign.

[Zhurkin] Vitaliy Ivanovich, you have dissected, politically dissected, all the candidates so thoroughly that one even begins to feel sympathy for them, so I would like to say a few positive words about them. I think that a characteristic of this election campaign lies in the fact that during this campaign the voters have eliminated the extremist candidates, particularly the extreme right candidates. Besides, the candidates who do have a chance are closer to the center. I think this is an interesting symptom, because after all, we have been arguing about the wave of conservatism in the United States for a long time now. It has declined, increased, decreased. I think that these elections have shown that the conservative wave has quite obviously begun to recede.

[Zorin] Vitaliy Ivanovich, I would like to disagree with you on several counts. I do not agree with your assessment of Dukakis. First of all, he appears to me to be a sufficiently strong and interesting figure who attracts the sympathies of Americans. Vitaliy Vladimirovich said: He is closer to the center. Howver, he does have a fairly liberal stand on some issues, and he gives the impression of being a strong figure. I would hesitate to fully discount his chances of becoming president, by winning the elections over a candidate such as Bush. He is quite a strong opponent who has certain chances.

As far as his Greek descent is concerned, it can go one way or another. When I was in the United States a few months ago one of the most experienced of U.S. journalists, our colleagues, said: What do you mean? A man with a name like Dukakis, a Greek, president of the United States! At the same time one can recall the 1960 elections. When John Kennedy emerged...

[Kobysh, interrupting] A Catholic.

[Zorin] Yes, and they said: Come on, an Irishman, a Catholic in Protestant America! Never in your life! It turned out that he became not simply a president but one of the major presidents in the history of the country. So I would treat Dukakis with all due seriousness, although of course the right wing is now using his—from their point of view—excess liberalism as a target for attacks.

Now what will happen at the convention? The convention will be held in Atlanta...

[Kobysh, interrupting] In July.

[Zorin] In July, yes. What may happen is that this pair that you have named—although Senator Simon is having some success in the primaries—may end up at the convention in a deadlock in which neither candidate will receive the necessary number of votes from the convention delegates needed for nomination. This has not occured in U.S. history for a long time, but this time, and it is one of the specific characteristics of the present campaign, this sort of deadlock may occur.

What will happen in this case? Well, if one turns to the political history of the United States, then there are two possibilities. One is some kind of arrangement between the leading candidates in which they will be forced to come to some agreement, making various promises and guarantees to one another, and decide on one candidate. This has happened. However, there have been other cases when neither of the favorites coming out of the elections has been nominated. An alternative new third figure may emerge at the convention and be chosen by all delegates and be nominated. This has occured in the political history of the United States, although quite long ago.

Specialists on the United States are already toying with this idea mentioning three names in particular: New York Governor Mario Cuomo, who as a matter of fact did not join the election race for the very reason that we have discussed. He is an Italian by nationality and considers that an Italian has no chance of getting into the White House. However, he is a fairly popular figure in the Democratic Party, and now they say that he may turn out to be just such a compromise candidate.

Sam Nunn, the very influential senator, is being named in this role, and Edward Kennedy. Edward Kennedy's name may emerge if there is a deadlock, and he would become the opponent to the Republican candidate.

Now to confirm that this is not simply idle talk and idle conjecture I would like to mention what I think is a significant situation. Even now at a distance from the event, as soon as even a hint appeared that Kennedy may step onto the stage, enemies of the Kennedy clan undertook serious efforts to remove his name from the slate. We are witnessing the following unfolding story.

About 15 years ago, when Edward Kennedy also had a chance to enter the White House—an even better chance than now—a scandal arose around a certain Judy Exner. At the time the entire American press was full of reports that this woman had close intimate relations with President John Kennedy while at the same time she was the girlfriend of, well you could say, the Godfather of the American Mafia Giancana and his chief lieutenant Roselli.

There was a lot of talk that this was not simply some kind of love triangle or rectangle, but that this was a political alliance, that Judy Exner was the link between President Kennedy and the Mafia, that the Mafia was working for Kennedy. This was the clamor that was going around that was odious to the Kennedy family. It was so serious that at the time the Senate Intelligence Committee looked into it. The committee questioned Judy Exner and investigated the circumstances. Judy Exner testified under oath that rumors of the relationship were untrue. The committee found nothing in this regard to compromise the late president, and the entire affair was closed and completely forgotten.

And now, precisely at the moment when Edward Kennedy's name surfaced somewhere in the background as a possible candidate, suddenly this story hit the front pages.

Judy Exner suddenly declared publicly in the press that 15 years ago she had lied; that she had given false testimony; that everything that was said at the time was the truth; and that she had in fact linked Kennedy with the Mafia. The reason she kept silent and has now spoken out she explained by the fact that she is now seriously ill and she wanted to clear her conscience before her death.

I do not know about this woman's conscience, but this kind of coincidence, the appearance of this story, arouses great suspicion in me. At any rate it confirms that such a remote possibility, but a possibility nevertheless, of the emergence of this alternative nomination at the Atlanta convention is being viewed in certain circles. But...

[Kobysh, interrupting] It seems that after expressing disagreement with my doubts you have bolstered them with your list of candidates—Cuomo, Nunn, and even Edward Kennedy.

[Zorin] Well, if you wish to view it that way, that is fine. I expressed disagreement with the assertion that Dukakis is a lackluster figure. He appears to me to be a strong figure. But the odds are such that he presently does not have a decisive advantage over his opponents, so a deadlock may occur.

Now, in connection with this I would like to ask you a question—actually it is not my question but is asked by physician Moiseyeva who lives in Khabarovsk. In her letter she asks the following, I would say, blunt question. She writes: Which one of the current presidential candidates is preferable for us?

[Kobysh] This I could not say, ever. [laughs]

[Zorin] Why, Vitaliy Ivanovich?

[Kobysh] Because in the United States they joke that any sympathy expressed in Moscow for any presidential aspirant or candidate would be the kiss of death for him. Now this is both a joke and not a joke. If we continue this joke or not a joke, then right here in Studio 9 we could, if not completely torpedo, at least seriously weaken the position of practically any aspirant who wants to be a candidate if we now begin to express our admiration or partialities. So let us refrain from responding to this question.

[Zorin] Yes. The more so since, considering things soberly, I think that possibly none of these aspirants has any basis to count on us to have even a secret preference for him over any others.

To complete this part of our discussion I would like to say that if the conventions were held today the Democrats' situation would be as we have already assessed, whereas apparently with the Republicans Bush would be the victor. If the elections were held today, then again, I find it difficult to say anything about the Democrats, but all reports indicate that Bush would also win at the elections, and would prevail over any Democratic candidate. But that is if the elections were held today. However, it is several months before the elections which will be held on 8 November. Practice has shown that a lot of things can change, so all we can do is what we have done, outline the situation as it stands today.

I think we have devoted sufficient attention to the problems of the election struggle at the present stage, and it is just the right time to turn to the question of the influence on international events of the campaign itself and the questions it has raised. In connection with this I would like to turn to a whole group of letters from our television viewers who are interested in the influence the election campaign can have and has had on the process of ratification of the INF Treaty and on preparation of the treaty on a 50 percent reduction of strategic offensive nuclear arms. Vitaliy Vladimirovich, how would you answer this question?

[Zhurkin] First of all, Valentin Sergeyevich, I would divide it into two parts. The first question, I think, is the question of ratification of the INF Treaty. If we analyze the state of affairs, then generally everything points to the fact that the ratification process is developing more or less normally. Public opinion polls show that a quite significant majority of Americans favor ratification of the treaty. Evaluations of the positions of senators also indicate that the qualified majority that is necessary for Senate approval of the treaty's subsequent ratification by the President also exists. The President signed the treaty, so naturally he will strive to have it approved. [laughs]. Therefore it seems there is no special cause for concern. On the other hand, of course, the election campaign leaves a certain imprint and can result in the most unexpected developments. For example, the Pershing-2 missiles are produced at a plant in Utah. How will this influence some lawmakers? Now Pershing-1 missiles are produced in Texas, cruise missiles are produced in California and Florida, while various components of these about-to-be-destroyed missiles are produced in other states of the United States. The connection is often very specific in such situations. There is also undoubtedly an active right wing which proposes unacceptable amendments to the treaty and which will fight the treaty. So I think the situation is complicated, but if we proceed from this collection of facts and trends that we now see, nevertheless these facts and trends indicate that the treaty will be ratified.

[Kobysh] But as far as the treaty on strategic offensive arms is concerned, which we link with U.S. President Reagan's forthcoming visit to Moscow, here the situation is somewhat more complex. Some kind of fuss is going on around this treaty, and within the administration itself, unfortunately. What was agreed upon during the Washington summit talks has, to a known extent, been forgotten by the administration. If we take strategic offensive arms, various forces of different caliber have joined in from all sides. Even a man like former President Nixon in his recently published book "1999—Victory Without War"—the book has just been released, maintains that the administration was hasty with the INF Treaty and as far as signing a treaty on strategic offensive arms is concerned, this is dangerous for the United States. Nixon does not explain what the danger is. Generally, it is a very strange situation.

For decades U.S. propaganda has asserted that the heavy Soviet missiles were the main threat to the West, particularly to the United States. Now, when an opportunity has presented itself to reduce them, both Soviet and U.S. missiles, by 50 percent, all kinds of questions are raised and difficulties presented. It is not easy to understand.

[Zorin] Well, as far as Nixon is concerned, it is probably difficult for him to see the laurels that he wanted for himself in U.S. history, possibly going to another president. Now I would like to pose the following question for our discussion: After the 8 November elections, the president in the White House will change and the U.S. Government will change. In connection with this, a question naturally arises about the continuity of policy. Will the new government continue the line presently being implemented by the current administration? Besides, this is not an abstract question. In 1972 a major Soviet-U.S. treaty was signed on anti-ballistic missile defense. At some stage this treaty became disagreeable to the current administration so it invented the so-called broad interpretation of this treaty which in fact undermines the ABM Treaty. This is a concrete example.

Presently we are conducting very difficult negotiations with the Reagan administration that require certain concessions on our part and concessions from the United States. The formulas of the agreement themselves are the result of very delicate compromises and of a very delicate balance, and to disturb this balance would mean to destroy many things. Is there any guarantee that the next U.S. President will not invent some new expanded and broad interpretation of those agreements that have been concluded or are now in a preparatory stage? A broader statement of the same question arises. Will the new government of the United States continue the course, particularly in Soviet-U.S. relations, that the current administration is pursuing at the final stage of its tenure? Vitaliy Vladimirovich, could you try to analyze these rather important problems?

[Zhurkin] Valentin Sergeyevich, first of all your question brings to mind how much irony and maybe even sarcasm, and how many paradoxes there are in the historical process. Can you imagine us about 5 years ago sitting here and contemplating and hoping that the next U.S. president would pursue the policy President Reagan is following in the Soviet-U.S. relations? Indeed, we would have been ridiculed. But today we think and are concerned about this and want this, and hope things will continue this way.

Now about continuity. I think this is part of a larger question of where the United States, our country, and all mankind are going. But first about the United States. Indeed, what Reagan has done in the last few years of his administration—practically throughout his second term in office—is not the result of some kind of subjectivistic twists or turns, but the result of the action of very serious objective factors, primarily the changes in U.S. public opinion. Indeed, it is a fact that a rather large majority of Americans demanded an increase in military expenditures in the late seventies, whereas today, they demand their reduction. This has been shown by one poll after another.

The new dynamic policy of the Soviet Union that we call new thinking in practice, undoubtedly influences the situation in the United States and the whole world. There are also objective facts within the United States. Let us recall: Reagan arrived with an idea, with a new U.S. dream of achieving military superiority over the Soviet Union, and from 1981 to 1985 he increased U.S. military expenditures by about 50 percent. He pushed the military expenditure curve upward, as our press has justly noted. Since 1985 he has been forced to interrupt this process and from 1985, for 3 years now, U.S. military expenditures have in fact not grown. There were years when they even decreased slightly, if we speak in terms of constant prices.

Things have not changed since they got stuck with this figure of $300 billion. Reagan did not even dare to request more than $300 billion for the next fiscal year which begins 1 October this year, the 1989 fiscal year. He requested $299.5 billion, while according to Reagan's previous plans the United States was supposed to spend nearly $450 billion in 1989, or $445 billion, to be more precise. These are figures that reflect internal, great hidden internal processes, primarily the inability of the United States to continue further winding up the flywheel of the arms race and a need to consider the realities—both its own economic realities and the realities of the world.

[Zorin] You know, Vitaliy Vladimirovich, in connection with what you have said, I would like to express an idea that may be contentious—I do not know, but it is worth contemplating—that we are presently—maybe this has been insufficiently noted and analyzed and I am afraid to exaggerate, but, nevertheless, I would like to mention it—witnessing a turning point in the history of the United States. No more and no less. What do I mean? Throughout the entire history of this country, and this is a characteristic of the United States, war has not been synonymous with disaster, not only for the monopolies but for the broad masses of Americans as well. I hope Americans will not be offended if they hear my words. I am simply speaking about historical facts, about what actually exists, but since the victory of the War of Independence not a single foreign soldier has put foot on U.S. territory.

World War I turned a generally second-rate state, which the United States was at that time, into one of the leading countries of the capitalist world and enriched it immeasurably. The losses were minimal while the gold flow was enormous. World War II led the United States out of a deep economic depression that followed the great economic crisis of the early thirties. No measures of Roosevelt could provide any possibilities for overcoming this depression, yet military production led the U.S. economy out of this deadlock. After the war, the United States, due to ensuing circumstances, became the main and most powerful state of the capitalist world. Again, U.S. war losses could not be compared with these gains.

In the postwar period too—we have either not spoken about this or have spoken about it in a suppressed way, but we should face the facts, after all—a large arms production program designed for scores of years, played a stimulating role for the U.S. economy and not a small role in the fact that there were no destructive or major crises of this kind in the postwar period. So the national thinking of Americans, let us face the facts, was formed under the influence of these factors, from the day the republic was established right up to the present time.

Now we are witnessing a turning point which has started or is starting. Because it is impossible, of course, for any economy, including such a wealthy one as the U.S. economy, to freeze its capital in the form of piles of arms, gradually rusting and becoming obsolescent through age in stockpiles and arsenals. Yet between 1948 and 1987, the United States spent $7.5 trillion—a sum hard to imagine in its enormity—for these unproductive purposes.

To help you comprehend this, comrades, this is approximately the value of the national wealth of the United States, of everything earned by generations of Americans since the establishment of the republic until the present day, excluding the cost of land and mineral wealth. Besides, of this $7.5 trillion spent over the past 40 years, $2 trillion was spent by the present administration. This could not have been done with impunity. It deformed and drained the U.S. economy and at a certain point it stopped bringing positive results. On the contrary, the United States began to lose its position in the international market and its capitalist competitors began to overtake it in many spheres. This has now been felt not only by representatives of the business world, but by the average American as well. I think that in addition to the political reasons mentioned by Vitaliy Vladimirovich, and an understanding of the danger of a future war—God forbid that one break out—the arms race and preparations for war have lost their attraction for an average person. They have begun to seriously agonize over this and to understand that the nineties will bring even greater difficulties.

This turning point, this objective thing that may still be in its initial stage but will deepen and increasingly make itself felt, is apparently creating the conditions in which the next administration and the following administrations will function in the nineties....

[Zhurkin, interrupting] You know, Valentin Sergeyevich, I think that although we assert, like an axiom, that the world does not boil down to only the contemporary United States, and this is in fact an axiom, in our discussions we involuntarily and spontaneously slip down to this idea. But I think that the trends you have spoken about manifest themselves far more clearly in other regions of the world, particularly in Europe, for example, where two systems oppose each other in a most concentrated way.

[Zorin] Vitaliy Vladimirovich, I think that since you have been instructed to establish a new institute of the Academy of Sciences, a European Studies Institute [Institut Yevropy], it is not a coincidence that you have raised this topic. You are the expert.

[Kobysh] You have our full attention.

[Zhurkin] Let us take Europe, I mean Western Europe. The same trends showed themselves there even more clearly. Remember, 10 years or more ago, in 1977, NATO adopted a decision that each NATO country should increase its military expenditures by 3 percent annually. Now, 10 years later, one can say that, if the Reagan administration implemented this decision for at least half of this period, the West European NATO members actually did not, with the possible exception at times of the UK and Italy.

The paradox lies in the fact that some 20 years prior to this, the United States reduced its share somewhat in the total NATO military expenditures, and sought to increase the share of Western Europe in these expenditures. Now, however, in this period of the Reagan dash, one can say the U.S. share has again increased. Once again it turns out that if every American spends over $1,000 annually for military purposes, every West European spends only half of this sum. In a word, what I want to say is that these new trends of the late eighties and the nineties are, it seems to me, manifesting themselves even more clearly in other regions, for example in Western Europe. Traditionally when we speak about Western Europe, we think in terms of NATO, even in a somewhat doctrinaire way, but a hidden yet enormously important process is now developing in Western Europe, which may in the early nineties change the face of not only Europe, but of our whole planet as well.

I have in mind the decision to create over a period of 5 years a common economic mechanism and to finally complete this process of economic integration of Western Europe. As a result, it is envisaged to establish by the end of 1992 an economic community with a population of 320 million and an industrial output which would exceed by 20 percent the present output of the United States and within which people, capital, goods, and services will move freely. Personally, I think this decision will be implemented to a considerable extent, and an economic giant of this kind will be born.

Presently there is talk in Europe about establishing a common European house. This is an idea being actively promoted by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and is an idea that most diverse circles in many countries of Western Europe support. It is gaining active support in the FRG, and in other places.

[Zorin] Vitaliy Vladimirovich, the term itself was coined by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev.

[Zhurkin] Yes, yes.

[Zorin] It has become very popular.

[Zhurkin] I would add, Valentin Sergeyevich, that the problem of a common European house is today the number one political slogan and political problem in Europe, although the building of this kind of house is an extremely complex and difficult task. Nevertheless, even the first steps in the building of this common European house can most radically change the situation both in Europe and on our planet.

So when we talk about the prospects, say, for the end of this decade and the beginning of the next one, I think we should follow these new and emerging trends with particular attention. These new and emerging trends, of course, lead both Europe and the world in the direction of a more constructive future, if I can put it that way, a more tranquil and more stable future.

[Kobysh] I think that when you speak about new regions and enormous conglomerates coming to the fore, we should keep in mind other regions of the world as well. Take Japan, for instance. By its GNP, Japan has caught up with the Soviet Union and in some areas it has overtaken us. This country is continuing to advance fairly rapidly.

I have absolutely no desire to belittle the role of Europe, the United States, or the Soviet Union; this will all remain, but a rearrangement is occurring before our very eyes. The trends have defined themselves quite clearly.

[Zorin] In general, summarizing what we have said, one can apparently come to the conclusion that objective factors have brought about the turn that has to a certain extent occurred in Washington's political circles in recent times, and these same objective factors, both intra-American as well as general worldwide factors, will determine the policy of the next administration and the following administrations of the United States. Therefore, it is not sound to consider that sharp turns and serious zigzags are possible. Of course there will probably be various changes and individual peculiarities, but the general trend stems from an objective course of events and this is what determines issues.

One conclusion stems from what we have said today, and this has somehow influenced the course of our discussion. I thought about this as we talked. I recalled previous presidential election campaigns and how actively and with what keen interest the question of the next president's personality was discussed. What great significance was attached everywhere to who he will be. Yet it is evident from our discussion today, and from commentaries in the world press that now the significance of this problem has obviously faded and decreased. Naturally there is an interest in the question of who the next president of the United States will be, and this is understandable. But not as much is tied up in this, and obviously a feature of the present election campaign is that its direct outcome does not play as great a role in world politics as was the case in the recent past.

I do not know, but if you agree with this concept, then how would you explain this?

[Kobysh] From my point of view there are several points here. Indeed, you said that at one time we followed all the details, facts, and trivia of the U.S. election campaign with intense interest. Now they have become a somewhat provincial, local event for us, because other things are occupying the attention of mankind. There are a number of reasons for this.

First of all there is what we have already spoken about. I do not want to assert that the role of the United States has fallen so sharply that everything in the world has changed. However, the role of other regions and other conglomerates has increased significantly. A bipolar world is turning into a multipolar one.

Further, Vitaliy Vladimirovich spoke about the serious processes under way in Europe. They are proceeding in Europe's political thinking as well. The new thinking, which was stimulated by our party, our country, and our initiatives, has brought about the fact that in Western Europe, and in NATO as well, there is very serious discussion of the priorities and aims of the West's policy. Voices can be heard coming from Europe saying that maybe the United States and the Soviet Union should not argue so much about every warhead and about levels and sublevels—although this is an essential thing—but rather think about preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons, bearing in mind first of all that there are hot spots in the world where the appearance of nuclear weapons would undoubtedly lead to an absolute catastrophe.

Let us imagine what would happen in the Iran-Iraq war—some call it a conflict, although it is hardly a conflict insofar as 1.2 million people have already died—if one of the sides now had nuclear weapons. I think we would sleep even more uneasily than we already do.

[Zorin] And if both sides had them?

[Kobysh] And if both sides had them? That is point number two. Number three: I would like to say a few words about ecology. We have said that the consciousness of Americans is changing. We talk a lot with them, and with Europeans, as we do, first of all, with our own people too, and generally many people complain that they are not feeling well. Now this is hardly surprising if clean drinking water is becoming a luxury, if there is a lack of oxygen in the atmosphere, and if the ozone layer can no longer function and people are becoming victims of radiation by deadly solar ultraviolet rays. And then there is that hole [in the ozone layer] above the Antarctic that is frightening everybody and which is growing for unknown reasons.

There are completely different ideas in the minds of people as to what the main thing in life is. These issues about who will win in the United States, what his personality is like, what program he represents, these are serious matters, of course, but they are no longer the determining ones. Regardless of who will win, I think that we need to proceed from an understanding that he cannot evade a solution to these problems. They are now at the top of the list.

[Zhurkin] It seems to me that we are about to broach one of the main contemporary issues. This is the question of what threatens mankind today. Now insofar as we are Soviet commentators, then first of all this is a question of what threats face us, our country, the Soviet Union. Apparently it can be said that the traditional threat, the military threat, has somewhat receded to the background. It has not disappeared, but can we say for instance that in recent years the threat of war, the military threat has increased? I think that there are no grounds for this kind of conclusion. Much of what we have said today confirms the thesis that the military threat to the security of our country is decreasing. It is decreasing as a result of the Soviet Union's dynamic policy, as a result of already concluded treaties, as a result of talks that are being conducted, and as a result of economic factors.

Other threats to our future are growing, including ecological ones that you have spoken of, Vitaliy Ivanovich. What about the threat that our continuing lag behind the United States, Japan, and even Western Europe—which in turn lags behind the United States and Japan—in introducing the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution into our economy represents? Is this not a threat? Is not standing on the sidelines of world scientific and technical progress a threat?

What I am leading up to is the fact that this once again emphasizes the extreme importance, the historic importance of the process of restructuring, democratization, and development of glasnost that is under way in our country today. In the long run, for us Soviet people, this is precisely what will determine the prospects for our country both in the eighties and in the nineties. Everything will depend on how dynamically our economy will develop, how efficiently the achievements of scientific and technical progress will be introduced, and how the food question, which remains an important issue in the life of our country, of our Soviet state, will be solved.

In this regard I think that not simply the fate of socialism in our country and the fate of our country in general depends on this but the external surroundings of our country also depend on this to a great extent. Therefore I think the solution of these problems is destined to not only ensure the future of our Soviet state but it is also destined to become a major contribution to the development of world civilization, insofar as we are an important component part of this world civilization.

[Kobysh] As a matter of fact this is precisely how restructuring is perceived throughout the world.

[Zorin] Now, in concluding our discussion here in Studio 9, I want to note as a contemporary fact that insofar as we have been talking about the election campaign and the coming elections in the United States, I want to note as a fact that it is not so much this election campaign and the forthcoming November presidential elections that influence world politics as the opposite, the realities of the contemporary world influence U.S. political life, influence the attitudes of Americans, and change these attitudes, and consequently they will become a decisive factor in the course of this political campaign.

Now the agenda of world politics, of course, includes far more serious questions today than say, the U.S. elections and their outcome. It is devoted and linked to those problems on which the fate of mankind really depends, not in an abstract way, not somewhere in the future, but precisely today. The policy of our country, both internal and external, the foreign policy program proposed by our party and by our country, which now to a great extent determines the international agenda, are major factors in world politics and are factors on which both the life of our people—how present and future generations will live—depends and the security in this complex and mutually-dependent world rests.

Well, our time on the air has run out. It remains for me to thank you, my colleagues, for taking part in our talk, and our television viewers for their attention, and so until we meet again here in our Studio 9. Thank you.

Ukraine Legislators 'Protest' to U.S. Congress

LD261136 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1030 GMT 26 Mar 88

[Text] Kiev, 26 March (TASS)—In connection with the celebration of the 1000th anniversary of the introduction of Christianity into Russia, the U.S. Congress is discussing a provocative draft resolution that gives a distorted account of the position of believers in the Ukraine. A group of deputies of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet has issued a statement on this subject in which they express a resolute protest against this crude interference into the republic's internal affairs.

The deputies of the Ukraine's supreme legislative body note that the authors of the draft resolution are trying to give a false account of the policy of the Soviet state with regard to the church and to believers, and are making recourse to political speculations in the spirit of the "cold war."

The tendentious content of this draft and its trend cannot but arouse feelings of legitimate indignation and protest.

The unfounded assertions of acts allegedly taking place in the republic are assessed in the statement as an attempt to present the real state of affairs in a distorted light and to misinform the public.

The statement by deputies notes that under the broad development of democracy and glasnost in the USSR, resolute measures for the all-round ensuring of human rights are being implemented. "Freedom of conscience, guaranteed to Soviet citizens by the Constitution, is being undeviatingly realized in practice. We have no one in prison or being persecuted for religious beliefs. The laws proclaiming the separation of church and state and the noninterference of state bodies in the church's internal affairs are strictly complied with. Against this background, the attempts to cast a shadow over the policy of the Soviet state, including its policy with respect to believers, appear particularly unattractive."

The protest by Ukrainian parliamentarians was caused by provocative appeals by congressmen for the legalization in the Ukraine of churches that had discredited themselves in the eyes of the people, lost believers, and ceased to exist. The churches in question are the Greek-Catholic (Uniate) Church and the Ukrainian (Autocephalic) Orthodox Church. Accusations that the state allegedly banned their activities are rejected as groundless.

A broad network of various religious associations operates in the Ukraine, including 4,000 Orthodox churches, over 1000 Baptist prayer houses, over 100 Roman Catholic churches, Pentecostal prayer houses, synagogues, and so on.

As for the Greek Catholic (Uniate), it ceased its activity in accordance with the decision on its self-disbandment and reunification with the Russian Orthodox Church, which was made by the Uniates themselves at the Lvov church assembly in March 1946.

The decision of that asembly was the logical conclusion of the struggle waged over 350 years by the Ukrainian people against spiritual enslavement and attempts to tear them away from the fraternal Russian and Belorussian peoples. The Uniate church, which was imposed on the Ukrainian people, compromised itself by the close collaboration with foreign oppressors and the Hitlerite occupiers.

The Ukrainian (Autocephalic) Orthodox Church also revealed itself as an eager servant of the fascist occupiers during the years of the Great Patriotic War. By holding services in their support and blessing their crimes, it fully displayed its treacherous, antipopular essence, and ceased to exist.

"In a historical context both aforementioned churches were always a cover for forces that concentrated around them and propagated religious dissent among the Ukrainian people; the deputies' statement stresses. They conducted a political game which pursued the aim of stirring up national hostility and enmity between fraternal peoples who had come from a single cradle, of artificially separating them, and counterposing them to each other. For this reason the U.S. congressional resolution cannot be regarded other then as an encroachment on one of the greatest gains—the friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union."

Now, when positive shifts have become apparent in Soviet-U.S. relations and joint efforts are being made aimed at reducing nuclear armaments and at resolving questions of humanitarian and other coopperation, the congressional resolution runs counter to this positive process and is an unfriendly attack against the Ukraine.

"We are for a positive and businesslike dialogue on various problems concerning the interests of the sides," the statement says. "We are prepared to discuss any issues but only on the condition of noninterference in each other's internal affairs and respect for the values the people of each country has chosen for itself."

The statement was signed by Galina Bereza, kolkhoz worker from Volyn Oblast; Vasiliy Veres, director of a production association from Ivano-Frankovsk Oblast; Sergey Danchenko, Ukrainian people's artist, chairman of the Board of the Ukrainian Union of Theater Figures; Galina Korneychuk, honored doctor of the Ukraine from Ivano-Frankovsk Oblast; Nikolay Manoylo, soloist from the Kharkov Opera and Ballet Theater; Boris Oleynik, poet, secretary of the Board of the USSR and UkSSR writers' Unions, chairman of the Board of the Ukrainian Culture Fund; Yaroslav Podstrigach, academician of the UkSSR ACADEMY of Sciences; Yevgeniy Stankovich, composer, people's artist of the UkSSR, secretary of the Board of the USSR and UkSSR Unions of Composers; Elvira Uyvari, worker from the Trans-Carpathian Oblast; and Tamara Shchesyuk, honored teacher of the UKSSR from Ternopol Oblast.

China

USSR Supports Talks on Spratly Islands

OW270132 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0300 GMT 26 Mar 88

[Commentray by (Khrurev)]

[Text] The Vietnamese Government has proposed to China that talks be held in the near future between Hanoi and Beijing to mediate the border issue concerning all archipelagoes in the South China Sea.

In its 23 March note, the Vietnamese Foreign Ministry also suggested that before the talks begin, both sides guarantee nonuse of force. In this connection, our station commentator (Khrurev) writes:

The islands in question are located on important sea and air lanes and are of great strategic significance. Over a long period of time these islands have been disputed by some Asian countries. Over the past several days armed conflicts between China and Vietnam have occurred in the area of these islands. China states that its sovereignty over these islands is beyond dispute and refuses to hold talks on this issue. Vietnam believes these islands are its territories and proposes that Hanoi and Beijing hold meetings at the foreign ministerial or vice foreign ministerial level.

Vietnam's diplomatic proposal shows the goodwill of the Vietnamese side. It shows Vietnam wishes to mediate the issue in a peaceful manner. This is in the interests of the people of both countries and can promote peace in this area. The Soviet Union supports this constructive policy.

The Soviet Union has always advocated that all complicated issues in international relations be peacefully solved on the basis of weighing the different stands of different countries and seeking a solution acceptable to all sides. Today, when the idea of opening dialogue is prevailing in international relations, holding talks is the only wise approach to solving all disputes between countries, including territorial issues. The Soviet Union, therefore, believes it is very important to restrain oneself and avoid taking actions which may complicate the situation. The Soviet Union, cherishing friendly sentiments for the Vietnamese and Chinese people, sincerely hopes that the current difficult situation in Vietnamese-Chinese relations will be overcome as soon as possible.

NPC Presidium Meets To Prepare 7th Session

LD242256 Moscow TASS in English 1856 GMT 24 Mar 88

[Text] Beijing March 24 TASS—The Presidium of the first session of the 7th National People's Congress [NPC] of China, which is to open March 25, met here today and elected a 17-member presidium bureau, XINHUA NEWS AGENCY reported.

It also approved a draft resolution to endorse the decision to meet Zhao Ziyang's request to be relieved of his post of the premier of the State Council.

The meeting decided to set up a special commission for internal affairs and jurisdiction within the frameworks of the National People's Congress.

U.S., Taiwan Cooperate in Nuclear Arms Research

OW191245 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 14 Mar 88

[From "The World Today" program; article by Shakhov]

[Text] After reading the latest reports on the development of nuclear weapons in Taiwan, a Chinese proverb comes to mind: When the water subsides, the rocks emerge. The reports about the disappearance of Chang Hsien-Yi, senior researcher at Taiwan's Chungshan Institute of Science and Technology [CIST], has become a popular topic of dicussion. According to certain information, he was abducted by the Central Intelligence Agency and has been delivered to the United States.

According to REUTER, Chang Hsien-Yi has admitted to being a deputy director of CIST's Nuclear Energy Research Laboratory. REUTER adds that Taiwan has never denied its ability to produce nuclear weapons.

While people still cannot be sure whether Taiwan has possessed nuclear weapons, the reports that Taiwan has carried out—and is still carrying out—research in this regard are absolutely credible. This project has been carried out within the scope of military cooperation between Washington and Taipei. According to some reports, the Republic of South Africa and Israel are also taking part in this project. Large shipments of uranium have been delivered to Taiwan as if they are for no other purpose than for peaceful research. As for Israel, reports say that it serves as the supplier of the latest technology to Taiwan's Nuclear Energy Research Laboratory. It was reported several years ago that a mysterious, bright flash was seen in the territory of South Africa. Experts believe that it was the phenomenon of a nuclear test. They also assert that in addition to experts from South Africa, representatives of Israel and Taiwan took part in the test. All this cannot but alert people. What we are saying here is that not only the United States but also its closest allies are treating Taiwan as a sovereign state—although this has justifiably invoked the Chinese people's indignation—with whom they can have cooperation in any field, including cooperation in the manufacture of nuclear weapons. Furthermore, such cooperation is an apparent violation of the nuclear nonproliferation treaty.

Northeast Asia

Rogachev Warns Against Japanese Militarism

OW280735 Tokyo KYODO in English 0648 GMT 28 Mar 88

[Text] Manila, March 28 KYODO—A senior Soviet official expressed concern about Tokyo's increased defense spending and warned that Japan is "slowly becoming a military power." "Japan has already overcome the limit of 1 percent of gross national product for military spending," said Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev in an interview published Monday in the MALAYA newspaper. "Japan has also overcome the largest NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) country in military expenditures," he added.

Rogachev met with President Corazon Aquino and other top government officials during a five-day visit here last week. He signed an agreement to have annual political consultations between the Philippines and the Soviet Union before he left for Moscow last Friday.

He also told the English-language daily that Japan could easily convert its achievements in technology into "military uses." "Japan has agreed to take part in the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), the U.S. Star Wars program. That's why we are concerned about it," the 56-year old Soviet expert in Asia-Pacific affairs said.

Rogachev also deplored the Japanese Government's failure to respond to a Soviet proposal to eliminate medium-range missiles and charged that Tokyo is supporting the United States. He said that Tokyo "talked a lot about the Soviet nuclear missiles in Asia threatening Japan" before the intermediate nuclear forces treaty was signed by Washington and Moscow. "We took this into account...we agreed to eliminate the medium-range missiles in Asia," Rogachev said. "Now, they (Japan) have forgotten completely about their demand." "Moreover," he charged, "they join the U.S. military circles in saying that the Soviet threat in the Pacific is growing and Japan should increase its military efforts."

Rogachev said that while negotiations on balancing conventional forces between the two superpowers have been going on in Europe, the United States appears "not to want to do anything in this sphere (Asia-Pacific)." "It's a pity, but the Japanese Government actively supports the U.S. in this position," he pointed out. "In some instances, the Japanese Government is more catholic than the pope."

In the same interview, Rogachev said that the removal of U.S. military bases in the Philippines will be a "major contribution to the reduction of the nuclear arsenal of both countries, the U.S. and the USSR."

The Soviet diplomat's visit came two weeks before the review of an agreement that allows the presence of America's largest overseas air and naval installations in the Philippines until 1991. But Rogachev indicated that the United States would try to keep its bases in the country, saying that they form part of Washington's global defense strategy. "The sooner these bases are removed, the better will be conditions for peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region."

USSR, Japan Prepare for Hokkaido Meeting

LD260138 Moscow TASS in English 2341 GMT 25 Mar 88

[Text] Tokyo March 26 TASS—A session on questions pertaining to preparations for the fourth meeting of the public of the Soviet Far East and Hokkaido has been held in Sapporo, the administrative centre of Japan's Hokkaido Island. It was attended by representatives of the organizations, which participated in the preceding third meeting held in Khabarovsk last September.

The participants in the session pointed out the great success of the preceding meetings and their importance in the effort to deepen mutual understanding between the peoples of the Soviet Union and Japan, develop goodneighbourliness and mutually beneficial cooperation. In discussing questions in connection with preparations for the next meeting scheduled to be held in Hokkaido in September next year, the need was pointed out to increase time for lively discussions, ensuring their mass and democratic character. It has been also proposed to increase the number of participants from the host side, in particular through representatives from the northeastern areas of Honshu Island. On the basis of the experience of the Khabarovsk meeting the need was recognized to hold visiting sessions in various cities of Hokkaido during the period of the fourth meeting.

Dates of 'Team Spirit' Exercises Announced

LD260117 Moscow TASS in English 2325 GMT 25 Mar 88

[Text] Tokyo March 26 TASS—Japan's National Defense Agency has announced that the U.S.-South Korean Team Spirit-88 exercises will start on March 29 and last till April 7. Washington and Seoul have held these large-scale exercises annually since 1976. As last year, up to 200 thousand men and officers will take part in them. According to the estimates of the Japanese Defense Agency, the scope and character of the exercises will remain at last year's level despite the persistent rumours earlier about the intention to cancel them. Considerable numbers of troops and military equipment will be sent for participation in Team Spirit from the territory of the USA and the U.S. bases in Japan. A strike U.S. naval squadron with the aircraft carrier Midway at its head has already arrived to the shores of the Korean peninsula.

DPRK Statement on 'Team Spirit' Exercises

LD231108 Moscow TASS in English 0947 GMT 23 Mar 88

[Text] Pyongyang March 23 TASS—The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Korean people have condemned the joint American South-Korean military exercises Team Spirit-88 as an action spearheaded against peace in Korea and a peaceful reunification of the country, as a serious threat to peace in Asia and all over the world, says the statement by the DPRK Foreign Ministry, which was issued by the KOREAN CENTRAL NEWS AGENCY.

The statement exposes the attempts of Washington and Seoul at justifying their aggressive preparations by the alleged "threat of an attack against the south" and the need to guarantee the security of the Olympic games. The DPRK Government, the statement says, has more than once declared that the DPRK has no intention "to attack the south". The USA should immediately end its muscle flexing demonstration being conducted under an absurd pretext, and withdraw its troops and nuclear weapons from South Korea. The DPRK Government will make "patient efforts" to foil the instigatory intrigues of the U.S. imperialists and the South Korean authorities, to uphold peace in Asia and all over the world, to ensure peace in Korea and the country's peaceful reunification, stresses the statement by the DPRK Foreign Ministry.

Solidarity Committee Condemns Exercises

LD252126 Moscow TASS in English 2109 GMT 25 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 25 TASS—New joint exercises by large U.S. and South Korean Forces, codenamed "Team Spirit-88", jeopardise peace and stability not only in Korea but also all over the Asia-Pacific region. This is said in a statement of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee published here today. The Soviet committee condemned another show of strength by the U.S. and South Korean military that considerably complicates the situation in the region. The Soviet committee demands that U.S. troops be withdrawn from South Korea. The document expresses support for the efforts of the DPRK aimed at the establishment of a constructive dialogue between the north and the south of Korea and the country's unification on a peaceful democratic basis without outside interference.

Kalinin Denounces 'Team Spirit' Exercises

OW231124 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 22 Mar 88

[Kalinin commentary]

[Text] The Democratic People's Republic of Korea has placed its armed forces under a complete combat posture. Our military affairs commentator Kalinin comments:

An official announcement notes that the action has been taken in connection with the U.S.-ROK [beikan] joint military exercise "Team Spirit-88" going into an active phase shortly and lasting through the middle of March [as heard]. There are several reasons why the DPRK was compelled to take the action.

The "Team Spirit" exercise is conducted annually and for the 13th consecutive year this year. In this period, it has become the largest demonstration of military power in the Far East. Initially, no more than 46,000 U.S. and South Korean officers and men took part in the exercise, but in the recent years the number has grown to over 200,000.

Military aggressiveness of this scale will inevitably lead to a bellicose stance. For instance, troops participating in the "Team Spirit" exercise are more than the total strength of the Japanese Ground Self-Defense Force. A military deployment as massive as this raises the question of whether it is really for training or if it is for some camouflaged preparations to launch an attack. History knows of military maneuvers having turned into acts of aggression. The October 1983 Grenada invasion by the U.S. forces was one of them. It is also noteworthy that the exercise is conducted in an area where the danger of war is increasing. There is no question that the situation on the Korean peninsula continues to be extremely critical. Even the overall thaw in international relations has not affected the situation on the Korean peninsula, and this is not because of the DPRK. In fact, the DPRK reduced its military strength by 100,000 men unilaterally last year.

The United States and South Korea, however, not only failed to respond to the initiative but also resorted to policies of escalating war preparations. The large-scale military exercise is a step in that direction. As a result, it has further complicated the situation on the Korean peninsula.

Furthermore, the exercise this year has a negative impact on the international situation in general. We must not forget that it is being conducted at a time when the Seoul Olympics are approaching. This fact makes the exercise a particularly provocative one.

The Olympic Charter clearly states that the Olympic Games are for contributing to international trust and goodwill and to the building of a (?friendly) world. Acting against this principle, the United States and South Korea have virtually challenged the international communities in a provocative manner.

The conduct of the "Team Spirit" exercise has brought to light another important issue—the issue of Japan playing an increasingly visible role in the U.S. strategy on Korea. To cite some facts, troops of U.S. 3d Marine Division left Okinawa to take part in the exercise. Training operations staged in the course of the exercise are done in coordination with the headquarters of the U.S. Forces Japan. U.S. bases in Japan are extensively utilized to support the exercise. Indeed, Japan has clearly been drawn into U.S.-ROK [beikan] military exercises for all practical purposes.

As you know, all exercises are meant to be training for actual combat. Therefore, if there is a war on the Korean peninsula, the United States will drag Japan into it. This is no longer a simple assumption. As it has become clear recently, 10,000 tons of various military equipment are stored in the U.S. base in Zama, Kanagawa Prefecture, for shipment to South Korea in the event of war. Furthermore, the equipment are not only for U.S. troops but also for ROK [kankoku] troops.

It is also noteworthy that Japanese Foreign Minister Uno has just visited South Korea. According to reports, one of the purposes of his visit was to discuss issues relating to security for the Seoul Olympics. Moreover, it was no secret that the partners in the Japan-ROK [nikkan] consultations attempted to create the impression that the DPRK is the source of the so-called threat.

In fact, the "Team Spirit" exercise is being conducted under the same pretext. This coincidence does not seem to be accidental. It can be considered an indication of Japan's virtual support for military actions of Washington and Seoul on the Korean peninsula.

As seen from above, the "Team Spirit" exercise far surpasses the framework of U.S.-ROK [beikan] relations. It works to whip up the tension on the Korean peninsula into flames, complicate the situation in the Asia-Pacific region and undermine the emerging signs of relaxation in international relations.

DPRK Protests ROK Territorial Water Violation

LD261627 Moscow TASS in English 1522 GMT 26 Mar 88

[Text] Pyongyang March 26 TASS—Today Major General of the Korean People's Army Yi Tae-ho, chief delegate of the Korean-Chinese side in the Military Armistice Commission in Korea, lodged an oral protest with the U.S. representative at the commission in connection with an intrusion on March 25 of three South Korean speed boats in territorial waters of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in the wake of a foreign trader which called at the port of Heeju on the Yellow Sea Coast.

The KCNA agency reports that the representative of People's Korea called attention to the fact that the action had been undertaken at a time when the large-scale American-South Korean joint war games "Team Spirit-88" were being conducted in the south of Korea and denounced it as a crude violation of the armistice agreement in Korea and as a premeditated provocation to aggravate the situation on the Korean peninsula. According to KCNA, Yi Tae-ho said that People's Korea would take resolute measures in case of a new violation of territorial waters of People's Korea.

Afanasyev, Kovalenko Return From Tokyo

PM231057 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Mar 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading "Delegations Return"]

[Text] Tokyo, 21 Mar—V.G. Afanasyev, member of the CPSU Central Committee and chief editor of PRAVDA, and I.I. Kovalenko, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, who had been here at the invitation of Japanese Communists in order to hold consultations between the CPSU and the Communist Party of Japan [JCP], today left Tokyo for Moscow.

The JCP delegation at the consultations was headed by T. Fuwa, chairman of the JCP Central Committee.

V.G. Afanasyev and I.I. Kovalenko returned to Moscow the same day.

Boxers Win Medals in Seoul Tournament

SK250222 Moscow International Service in Korean 1330 GMT 23 Mar 88

[Feature program: "Review of Sporting Events"]

[Excerpts] In this hour, we are going to introduce to you major sporting events that took place last week. [passage omitted]

The Calgary games are already history. The Summer Olympics will be held in Seoul. Athletes are now using whatever opportunities available to them as part of their preparations for the Olympics.

A great boxing tournament came to an end a few days ago over there. Soviet boxers were successful in that tournament and won five gold medals. [passage omitted]

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Rogachev Ends Philippine Consultations

LD261027 Moscow TASS in English 1004 GMT 26 Mar 88

[Text] Manila March 26 TASS—Bilateral Soviet-Philippine consultations have ended here. The Soviet side was represented by Deputy Foreign Minister of the USSR Igor Rogachev and Ambassador of the USSR in the Republic of the Philippines Oleg Sokolov, the Philippine side—by first Deputy Foreign Minister Manuel Yan and other senior officials of the Foreign Ministry of the Philippines.

Topical international problems, including the results of the Washington negotiations of member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, Foreign Minister of the USSR Eduard Shevardnadze with President Ronald Reagan and Secretary of State George Shultz, were discussed in the course of the conversations which were held in a friendly and constructive spirit.

An exchange of opinions was held on questions of consolidation of peace and security in the Asia-Pacific region, the situation in South East Asia. Ways of further development of bilateral relations were discussed.

The Soviet representative was received by President of the Republic of the Philippines Corazon Aquino and Foreign Minister Raul Manglapus.

An inter-governmental Soviet-Philippine protocol was signed. The protocol provides for annual consultations through the foreign ministries of the two countries.

Philippine Senate Discusses Nuclear Weapons Ban

LD242353 Moscow TASS in English 2109 GMT 24 Mar 88

[Text] Manila March 24 TASS—The Senate Foreign Policy Committee of the Philippine Congress is starting today an intensive discussion of the bill to ban the use of the territory of the Philippines for the deployment of nuclear weapons. The said bill echoing the anti-nuclear provisions of the country's Constitution meets with broad support from a majority of the senators. If endorsed the bill will leave a substantive impact on Washington's plans for further use of the territory of the Philippines with the Pentagon bases as an offensive spring-board of the United States in the Asia-Pacific region. Local observers note that the forthcoming debate in Senate will inevitably influence the course of the Philippine-American talks on the status of the U.S. nuclear bases in the Philippines opening in Manila on April 5.

Philippine Foreign Minister Cited on Summit

LD242350 Moscow TASS in English 2108 GMT 24 Mar 88

[Text] Manila March 24 TASS—By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kiselev:

The Philippine leadership is looking forward to the Soviet-American summit meeting in Moscow, the TASS correspondent was told in an interview by Philippine Foreign Minister Raul Manglapus. In the opinion of the Philippine side, he stressed, any steps contributing to a growth of mutual understanding between the great powers are highly essential for preserving universal peace. The Government of the Philippines, Manglapus said, is expressing hope that the forthcoming talks in Moscow will be no less productive than the meeting in Washington between Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and President Ronald Reagan, which marked the start of the process of real nuclear disarmament.

Vietnam Refutes Thai Allegations on Shelling

LD271802 Moscow TASS in English 1605 GMT 27 Mar 88

[Text] Hanoi March 27 TASS—The VIETNAM NEWS AGENCY (VNA) has refuted allegations spread in Thailand accusing the Vietnamese volunteers in Kampuchea of firing more than 2,000 shells on Thai territory, causing civilian casualties and inflicting material damage. Such reports, the VNA stresses, are slanderous and absolutely groundless.

More on Vietnam Border Talks Proposal to PRC

LD241907 Moscow TASS in English 1809 GMT 24 Mar 88

[Text] Hanoi March 24 TASS—On March 23 a note was handed in to the PRC ambassador in Hanoi from the Vietnamese Foreign Ministry. The note contains the proposal of the SRV Government that bilateral talks be held in Beijing at the earliest date at the level of ministers of foreign affairs or deputy foreign ministers on a settlement of disputable border issues concerning island territories in the South China Sea. It was also proposed that pending the talks the sides should commit themselves to refrain from the use of force.

Laos Sends Message to Thailand on Border Issue

LD241552 Moscow TASS in English 1526 GMT 24 Mar 88

[Text] Vientiane March 24 TASS—The Lao Government consistently works for the speediest settlement of border issues with Thailand in the interests of peace and security in South East Asia for the benefit of the peoples of the two countries. This is pointed out in the message of the Lao Foreign Ministry addressed to the Foreign Ministry of Thailand.

The message welcomes the striving of the Thai Government for a resumption and perfection of work of the Border Committee, which was set up in conformity with the joint Lao-Thai communique of 1979. The Lao People's Democratic Republic has always honoured and strictly observed the provisions of the document. It is necessary that this structure and the functions of the border committee should correspond to the relevant agreements between the governments of the two countries on turning the Lao-Thai border all along its length into that of peace and friendship on the basis of respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of each other.

The urgent task, the document says, is the speediest quest for the settlement of border issues in Boten area. This would create favourable prerequisites for effective functioning of the Border Committee.

The message touches upon the problem of creating a special Lao-Thai commission for delineating the border in the sector between Sayaboury (Laos) and Phitsanulok (Thailand) provinces. The Lao side believes that the formation of such a commission is possible only after the governments of the two countries delineate in principle the boundary, guided by the Franco-Siamese Treaty of 1907 and the corresponding map.

Yet the Thai Government delegation far from accepting the proposals of the Lao side, continues insisting on its stand, basing itself on the map, which the Lao side cannot recognize to be legitimate. Such an approach shall be evaluated as an attempt at protracting the talks with the aim of consolidating the hold of a part of the captured Lao territory, says the message from the Lao Foreign Ministry.

Near East & South Asia

Impasse at Afghan-Pakistani Talks Discussed

Commentator Fadeyev Interviewed

LD252229 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 25 Mar 88

[Interview with commentator Vladimir Fadeyev by Aleksandr Ruvinskiy—live or recorded]

[Text] [Ruvinskiy] The indirect talks between the Afghan and Pakistani sides, with Diego Cordovez, special representative of the UN secretary general acting as a mediator, are continuing in Geneva. One can say without exaggeration that millions of people in the world hope that peace and quiet will come to Afghanistan as a result of the talks. But time passes and it seems that the Geneva talks have gotten stuck. What is the matter there? I am addressing this question to commentator Vladimir Fadeyev.

[Fadeyev] Aleksandr Ilich, your description of the situation at the talks was absolutely correct, though perhaps you put it too mildly. The Pakistani side is simply and quite blatantly prolonging the talks and coming up with one excuse after another. One gets the impression that they arrived in Geneva without any clear-cut instructions from their leadership. Or, rather, they had instructions whose essence was aimed precisely at delaying the signing of a peaceful agreement and trying to attach new conditions to it which had not even been mentioned before the routine round currently underway got started.

[Ruvinskiy] And what are the conditions that emerged in Geneva?

[Fadeyev] If only in Geneva alone! But I will speak about this a bit later. The Pakistani delegation suddenly stated in Geneva that, apart from the agreement clauses that had been harmonized earlier—and the main point of the agreement, according to Islamabad, was the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, which, as is known, is very clearly defined in Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's statement and accepted by the two contracting parties—the issue of creating a so-called provisional interim government in Afghanistan suddenly emerged. And its make-up has been determined in Peshawar. This latter-day government is to consist mainly of representatives of seven counterrevolutionary parties. At home in Peshawar they have already divided the posts and portfolios among themselves, with Islamabad's blessing. True, they did not manage without a scandal: One of the leaders of the above-mentioned seven even resigned from the alliance.

Yet, in the final analysis, the point is that the country's lawful government functions in Kabul. Not only has it been recognized by 86 foreign countries, but it has more than once invited the opposition to join a coalition government within the framework of the policy of national reconciliation which it has been carrying out, and to do this with the purpose of determining the destiny of the country and the people, including the line of the country's development after the Soviet troops have been withdrawn from Afghanistan.

The Alliance of Seven persistently turns this proposal down. After all, this is their business—they do not want it because they have plans of their own, plans for continuing the war in Afghanistan to the last Afghan, as they put it. They are absolutely not interested, and never have been interested, in the fact that these plans do not correspond to the people's desires. The people themselves say that the question of a future Afghan government should be resolved not in Islamabad or any other foreign town at all. This is an issue for Afghans themselves and it should be resolved after the main problem has been resolved, that is, after the war has been stopped. Pakistan, however, insists that, on the contrary, this issue should be resolved now, at the Geneva talks.

Please note, Aleksandr Ilich, what a curious position Pakistan takes from the standpoint of international law. In fact, it speaks on behalf of those who are guilty of many crimes against the Afghan people and those who are not interested in putting out the fire of the fratricidal war.

[Ruvinskiy] Excuse me, Vladimir Ivanovich, for interrupting you here, but the idea comes to mind naturally that Islamabad and those who advocate the continuation of the war, whom you have mentioned, probably have common interests.

[Fadeyev] Absolutely! The whole world knows that for Islamabad, the war in Afghanistan is a big financial deal. Last year alone the United States gave $715 million in aid to the Afghan rebels. Some Arab countries and NATO member-countries added about $300 million, as well. Western sources think that about one-half of this sum has stayed in the pockets of the Pakistani administration. Well, the leaders of the Afghan opposition also got their share, to put it mildly.

[Ruvinskiy] Let us come back to the position of another side involved in the Afghan problem—to the U.S. position. Washington, which, as is known, has pledged to be a guarantor of noninterference in Afghanistan's internal affairs in the event that Soviet troops are withdrawn, now demands that our country suspend its aid to the Afghan Government. Washington insists on symmetrically reducing aid to the respective allies of the sides. What can you say about this?

[Fadeyev] Personally, I do not understand one point in the position of the U.S. side. How can one insist on any sort of symmetrical suspension or symmetrical reduction of aid to the respective allies if, in this case, the U.S. side takes upon itself the right to act in the role of a third party, so to speak? It is trying to interfere with our long-standing bilateral relations. But is there a guarantee that tomorrow it will not start to advise—if not to demand—that the many other countries which maintain bilateral relations with Afghanistan should stop giving it help?

Finally, the United States has obviously forgotten that, apart from military aid, we also give considerable help to Afghanistan in organizing a peaceful life, whereas the United States has for years been doing all it could—and on a very large-scale, in the American way—first to set in motion and then to establish firmly through the opposition in that country a monstrous mechanism of destruction and killing, the mechanism called an undeclared war. So, those who look toward Geneva today have not only hopes but also worries.

Afghan Lawyer Criticizes Stands

LD262249 Moscow TASS in English 2108 GMT 26 Mar 88

[Text] Kabul March 25 TASS—The Soviet Union and Afghanistan are linked by durable bonds of friendship and goodneighbourliness that date back over 70 years.

Over this period the USSR has been rendering Afghanistan all-round assistance. And it continues doing so. The United States and Pakistan now declare against this, chairman of the Lawyers Association of the Republic of Afghanistan Ghulam Sahi Masun said here.

"The statements of leaders of the Soviet Union and Afghanistan on political settlement around Afghanistan show patently the striving of the peoples of the two countries for an end to bloodshed," he went on. "But the United States and Pakistan, placing artificial road blocs, try to hamper the process of the Geneva Talks, to put off the signing of the final documents. The USA, specifically, suggests an end to Soviet assistance to Afghanistan."

"The Republic of Afghanistan is an independent and sovereign state having diplomatic relations with 82 countries which render it various assistance. Therefore we shall view the advice of 'third parties' as to what relations we should have with some or other country, as interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs," Ghulam Sahi Masun said.

"Over many years the United States has been rendering military and other aid to the 'Alliance of Seven.'" The U.S. Administration views such aid as legal. "Then where is the logic? It turns out that to help somebody build peaceful life is illegal, while to kill and destroy is not," the Afghan lawyer said in conclusion.

Pashtun Official Scores Pakistan

LD281643 Moscow TASS in English 1426 GMT 28 Mar 88

[Text] Kabul March 28 TASS—By suggesting that Pakistan and Afghanistan discuss border issues at the Geneva talks, the Pakistani Government is seeking to stall the process of the negotiations and delay the signing of final documents, a spokesman for the Pashtun tribe of Mohmand inhabiting Pakistan's North-Western frontier province has told BAKHTAR news agency.

Haji Hazrat Wali called on Islamabad to display political maturity and goodwill by signing the Geneva accords.

"Instead of facilitating a political settlement of the situation related to Afghanistan, Islamabad is putting forward for consideration at the Afghan-Pakistani talks in Geneva the question of their bilateral border," said Hawrat Khan Afridi, chairman of the Union of Trade Workers of Afghanistan.

"This fact attests yet another time to the unwillingness of the Pakistani Government to stabilise the situation in the region."

Kabul Regional Conflicts Conference Opens

LD271539 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1220 GMT 27 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow, 27 Mar (TASS)—TASS correspondent Georgiy Shmelev reports:

The international conference "The Role of the Public in Settling Regional Conflicts" opens on Tuesday [29 March] in Kabul. It is held at the initiative of the Asian and African Peoples Solidarity Organization (AAPSO) and the Afghan Peace, Solidarity, and Friendship Organization. More than 100 representatives of various organizations and movements of the Asian and African public will take part in it. This is going to be the most representative forum of the public of the two continents.

"The time and place of the conference are not accidental, of course. The Afghan-Pakistani talks currently held in Geneva through the UN secretary General's representative are aiming at putting an end to one of the most painful conflicts," Mikhail Vyshinskiy, USSR deputy minister of justice, said to a TASS correspondent before departing for to Kabul. He heads the Soviet delegation at the conference.

Settling regional conflicts becomes more and more important in the world, M. Vyshinskiy stressed. Attempts to resolve them by military means have shown the entire fruitlessness and perilous character of this. According to reports in the world press, 12 million persons have died in 145 regional wars since World War II. The number of casualties increases catastrophically. Weapons and violence are being used more and more often. New conflicts are being added to old ones.

Therefore, the search for political solutions is the only right approach. And here the world public can make its contribution, both to shaping the new thinking and search of ways of settling the conflicts on the basis of international law, UN decisions and the political will of the sides involved, M.Vyshinskiy stressed.

Pakistan Begins New Attack Aircraft Production

LD281201 Moscow TASS in English 1140 GMT 28 Mar 88

[Text] New Delhi March 28 TASS—BY TASS correspondent L. Kotov:

Pakistan has started the production of the new jet attack aircraft A-5 designed at that country's major aviation complex in Kamra. According to the Indian news agency UNI, the advanced plane will soon be supplied to the Pakistani Air Force units deployed in the forward based airfields along the border with India and Afghanistan. Addressing the ceremony on the occasion of the start of production of the new attack aircraft, R.N. Mahmud Khan, Pakistani minister of state for defense, said that the Islamabad Administration intended to carry on an accelerated implementation of its program for fitting out all arms of the service with advanced military equipment. He described that program as the most important among those implemented in the country.

As Indian observers stress, Pakistan's arms manufacturing industry plays a growing role in implementing the ambitious plans of the Islamabad authorities for turning the country into the biggest military power in the region. In 1987 Pakistani military spending reached 39,000 million rupees, or nearly 30 per cent of the country's budget. The manufacture of various types of weapons and equipment has been started at Pakistan's war plants with the assistance of the military industrial corporations of the USA, FRG and other states. According to Indian official circles, the West German company Meissner supplied Islamabad with technology for production of explosives and ammunition. The Japanese Nippon Electric Company has assisted Pakistan in building a factory in Naripur for the manufacture of military communication equipment. Thousands of military experts and workers are engaged in designing various aircraft at the Kamra complex, whose activities, like those of other war plants in Pakistan, are being permanently broadened.

PLO Leader Holds Moscow News Conference

LD251339 Kuwait KUNA in English 1007 GMT 25 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow, March 25 (KUNA)—A senior Palestinian official has disclosed tangible political coordination between the Palestine Liberation Organization and Syria and said the relationship between them would soon improve significantly after a four-year rift.

Ahmad 'Abd al-Rahman, the chief PLO information officer, told a press conference here Thursday that Syria and the PLO have recently been engaged in "a profound dialogue" over how to shape their ties.

'Abd al-Rahman, who is also member of the Palestine Central Council, said Syria, Lebanon and the PLO can be the front that would counter the American-Israeli designs in the region. He said that the three parties should rectify the relationship between them accordingly, and pointed out that "friendly powers" were successfully trying to help Syria, Lebanon and the PLO brush aside their differences.

He was apparently referring to the Soviet Union's efforts to effect a conciliation between Damascus and the PLO leadership after a split over how the Middle East crisis should be settled. Speaking of "tangible" progress in the PLO-Syrian rapprochement, 'Abd al-Rahman referred to the synchronized announcement by the two sides that they would attend an Arab summit suggested by Algeria to enlist support for the Palestinian uprising in the occupied areas.

'Abd al-Rahman is heading a Palestinian delegation on a visit here at the invitation of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship with Foreign Countries.

He told the press conference the uprising would continue until the Israeli occupation forces were driven out of Arab territories. He added that more than 200 Palestinians were killed since the revolt erupted early last December. Three thousand Arabs had been detained and 7,000 or so were injured since then, he said.

On his visit to the Soviet Union, the Palestinian official said he will be meeting a number of Soviet officials on planned activities intended to mark the "Land Day" on March 30 in the Israeli-occupied territories.

He noted that the unified command of the uprising had decided to turn the Land Day into an occasion to pour out Palestinian fury.

Israel Chooses Saudi Arabia as New 'Target'

LD251621 Moscow TASS in English 1450 GMT 25 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 25 TASS—By TASS commentator Grigory Vasilyev: The Israeli military are contemplating another attack at an Arab neighbour, which clearly follows from public remarks made by highly placed Israeli officials and from press reports.

This time, it is Saudi Arabia that has been chosen as a target of aggression following its deployment of medium-range ground-to-ground missiles for defensive purposes.

Tel Aviv's stand is not surprising. Throughout decades, its policy in the region has been based on preserving and building up its military superiority over the Arab countries.

With this aim in view, Israel has been buying up large quantities of most up-to-date, chiefly American weapons. These weapons are not just stored at depots but are actively and extensively used in aggressive wars and forays against civilians, including women and children.

U.S.-made Israeli aircraft already bombed Egypt, Syria, Jordan and Lebanon and were involved in aggressive raids against the nuclear research centre in Iraq and the headquarters of the Palestine Liberation Organisation in Tunisia.

It is widely known that Israel, while refusing to sign the nuclear non-proliferation treaty, has already started, according to some reports, to manufacture nuclear warheads.

In pursuing a course towards militarisation and arming itself clearly for aggressive purposes, Tel Aviv denies victims of its aggression, the Arab countries, the legitimate and inalienable right to self-defence, impudently assuming the "right" of unceremonious armed interference in the affairs of sovereign Arab U.N. member countries.

It is clear that Tel Aviv, in continuing to grossly violate international law, is seeking to subordinate the peoples and states in the Middle East region, to American-Zionist diktat.

U.S., Israeli Role in Gulf War Criticized

PM281041 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 Mar 88 First Edition p 3

["Military-Political Commentary" by V. Pustov: "Tragic, Senseless Conflict..."]

[Text] The Iran-Iraq conflict has been given many epithets: endless, fratricidal, tragic by virtue of its senselessness, and the most bloody conflict since U.S. aggression in Vietnam. It is also called the "tanker war" and the "war of the cities."

The bloodshed, which has lasted since the fall of 1980, has had several phases, characterized first by particularly fierce fighting, then by relative calm. For almost the whole of the first 2 years, the Iraqi Army occupied a number of cities in the Iranian southwest province of Khuzestan. Then units of the Iranian regular army and detachments of the "Islamic Revolutionary Guard," noted for their religious fanaticism, seized the initiative. The front began to run approximately along the state border. In February 1986, in the course of dogged fighting, the Iranians forced a crossing at the mouth of the Shatt al-'Arab and took the Iraqi city of Al-Faw, making access to the Persian Gulf difficult for the enemy. In the last 2 years offensive operations have been carried out one after the other but, despite the tremendous losses, they have not made noticeable progress.

The "tanker war," which has lasted 6 years, in the course of which bomb and missile strikes have been inflicted on oil tankers and other maritime facilities belonging not only to the combatant sides, but also to other sides, has not ensured decisive success for either side. Approximately 500 ships have already been sunk and damaged. First the United States and then their NATO bloc allies used this for their own not unselfish purposes. On the pretext of protecting shipping, they concentrated large naval forces in the Persian Gulf and the approaches to it, which could not fail to exacerbate the tension in the region even further. The threat of internationalization of the conflict grew. Especially because, as the U.S. CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR reports, the Pentagon has finished constructing a network of military bases in the Persian Gulf region which it would need in the event of combat operations there.

The latest and, perhaps, the most embittered round of the "war of the cities" has been going on for almost 1 month alongside the "tanker war" and is causing the deaths primarily of civilians. The enemies are not confining themselves to the intensive use of aircraft. Ground-to-ground missiles have been brought into play. Economic centers and major cities, including both countries' capitals—Baghdad and Tehran—are coming under fire.

According to foreign observers' data, the total number of dead and wounded on both sides is well over 1 million. The material damage has been set at many billions of dollars. But the war continues to devour huge funds.

People in the West have calculated that Iran can now produce one-half of what it needs to continue the war. You may ask, where is the other half coming from? The answer to this legitimate question can only be obtained if you analyze reports coming from the West. An investigation is going on to this day in the United States into the sensational "Irangate" affair, which has led to the exposure of secret U.S. arms shipments to Iran sanctioned by the administration.

The United States' ally—Israel—has never made a particular secret of its interest in the continuation of the Iran-Iraq bloodshed. According to Cairo's AL-WAFD, the Egyptian Foreign Ministry has data regarding the fact that Tel Aviv is applying efforts with a view to further inflaming the Iran-Iraq conflict and involving Arab states in it. In this connection Defense Minister Rabin has given instructions to expand Israeli arms shipments to Iran.

London's THE OBSERVER and other Western mass media report that, despite the official ban, arms dealers from a number of NATO countries are continuing to send secret shipments to Iran.

Attempts to resolve the Iran-Iraq conflict by military means are ruinous and futile. Here, as in other so-called local conflicts, the sole correct approach is to seek a political solution. M.S. Gorbachev stated that this means creating the sort of international legal situation around the seat of the conflict which would prevent it being fueled from outside and would guarantee that this seat of conflict would not spread to other countries and regions. The Soviet Union urges all other countries to act jointly in this direction.

Syrian Officials Cited on Policies, Problems

PM241455 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Mar 88 Morning Edition pp 4-5

[Undated dispatch by special correspondent Konstantin Geyvandov: "Silver Jubilee"]

[Text] Damascus-Moscow—My most recent visit to Syria coincided with a major celebration in the life of this country's friendly people. They were marking a silver jubilee—the anniversary of the 8 March 1963 revolution led by the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party (the Ba'th Party), which has been in power ever since. This kind of stable regime in the Arab world is a remarkable event in itself.

The capital of the republic, Damascus, tried out its ceremonial dress and, as if looking at its reflection in a mirror, hastened to correct the faults which caught its eye. During the time leading up to the anniversary celebrations Muhammad Amin Abu al-Shamat, the governor of Damascus, visited different parts of the city almost every day—either to check that public services were functioning normally or to inspect progress in the restoration work being carried out on the city's sights, including the ancient trading centers of Khamidiy and Medkhat-Pash [names as published], the Salah al-Din Mausoleum, and others. They were preparing for the celebrations in all the other Syrian governorates. Their party and social organizations were planning ceremonial demonstrations, mass meetings, exhibitions, literature evenings, and sporting events.

During my stay in Damascus, which was in the midst of jubilee celebrations on this occasion, I managed to meet and talk with a number of prominent party, state, and social figures. I asked 'Abdallah al-Ahmar, deputy general secretary of the Ba'th Party, to talk about the significance of the 8 March revolution for the Syrian people:

The 8 March revolution is an important landmark in the history of modern-day Syria, he said. It opened the way to strengthening our country's independence and its progressive development and laid the foundations for major socioeconomic transformations in the republic. Under the leadership of the Ba'th Party, the Syrian people have achieved considerable success in economic building and in the development of culture, education, and public health care in the last 25 years. We share these successes with Syrian Communists and other progressive parties and organizations with which the Ba'th Party productively cooperates within the framework of the Progressive Nationalist Front. I would particularly like to point out that these successes have had to be won in a difficult struggle, under constant pressure from the forces of imperialism, Zionism, and reaction.

The justice of the last remark cannot be questioned. Syria is now in fact emerging from a critical situation created as a result of the latest frenzied attack by imperialism. London initiated the attack when it severed diplomatic relations with the Republic and introduced draconian economic sanctions against it, making the far-fetched accusation of Syrian support for international terrorism. Britain's unlawful actions were eagerly supported by Washington and other NATO capitals. Naturally, they were joined by the Western-controlled World Bank. Soon after, the Western mass media went all out to replay the theme of a serious economic and financial crisis gripping Syria.

Perhaps somewhere in the heart of the Syrian economy there are in fact some crisis phenomena. I do not know. There is no evidence of this on the surface, apart from the rather obviously higher prices on all goods and services in comparison to those I saw on my previous visit to the country. Consequently I asked Syrian Prime Minister Mahmud al-Zu'bi to explain this when I met him.

Of course the country is not in an economic crisis, he said, but we are undoubtedly having difficulties. They are both objective and subjective. On the one hand, for example, we must still spend a substantial proportion of the budget on defense because of the continuing Arab-Israeli conflict. On the other hand, it is clear that we consume more than we produce. But the main thing, in my opinion, is that we are clearly aware of all these difficulties and weak points in the economy and are taking measures to overcome and eliminate them. One of the most important priority tasks, for example, is the need to do as much as possible to develop agriculture and set it on an industrial basis.

I must say that the pulse of the Syrian people's struggle to overcome difficulties in various areas of their life can daily be felt in newspaper reports and radio and television broadcasts. While I was there I was able to clearly discern the different areas where these efforts are being made, such as relying on local resources, improving planning, eradicating corruption, bribery, and other negative phenomena, and developing all-around cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, as well as efforts within the framework of the nonaligned movement.

If we resort to the aid of the rule of contraries, it is easy to see that the constant attacks and pressure on Syria by the forces of imperialism, Zionism, and reaction mentioned above are largely provoked by Syria's principled foreign policy course—the same course which has won it deserved authority in the world arena, because it makes a substantial contribution to the struggle for peace and international security and for peoples' freedom and social progress. For many years Syria has opposed aggression by upholding the Arabs' just cause and opposed attempts to substitute separate deals running counter to the vital interests of the peoples in this region for a genuine, all-embracing settlement in the Near East.

And, as usual, principle is being repaid a hundredfold. This can be seen, to give just one example, in the fact that imperialism's latest attack on Syria began to misfire a few months after it had been started. The U.S. Administration was one of the first forced to back down, and it has now returned its ambassador to Damascus. And now, on the wave of the uprising by the Arab people of Palestine in the occupied territories, which is now in its fourth month, it seems that Washington has finally begun to realize that there can be no peace and security in the region without a comprehensive solution to the

Arab-Israeli crisis and without Syria's active participation in this process. In any case, during his recent visit to the Near East in connection with the "new" U.S. initiative, U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz felt it necessary to visit Damascus twice and hold talks with the Syrian leaders lasting many hours.

The Palestinian Arab uprising has put all the priorities in their places, Syrian Foreign Minister [of state] Nasir Qaddur said in a conversation with me, and shown that we were right to defend the paramount importance of a Near East settlement at the extraordinary pan-Arab summit conference in Amman. We still maintain the same stand in the belief that a just solution to the Arab-Israeli crisis must ensure the total liberation of the Arab territories occupied by Israel, the restoration of the Palestinian Arab people's legitimate national rights in all their aspects, and the establishment of lasting, guaranteed peace in the region. This could be achieved at a plenipotentiary international conference on the Near East but not through partial solutions and separate deals.

This does not mean, he continued, that we underestimate the danger of the other conflict raging in the region—the Iran-Iraq war. No, we are clearly aware of the threat posed by this war and are making every effort to see it ended. This problem is constantly at the center of our attention and we are endeavoring to find a solution which, on the one hand, will prevent other countries from being drawn into the war and prevent it from developing into an Arab-Iranian conflict and, on the other, not make Iran an enemy of the Arab peoples.

I had a detailed conversation on foreign policy issues with Syrian Minister of Information Muhammad Salman. Our conversation went far beyond the limits of regional problems. The minister highly appraised all the foreign policy initiatives put foward by the Soviet Union in recent years. He welcomed the signing of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles during last year's visit to Washington by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, as the first step on the way to creating a nuclear-free, nonviolent world.

Soviet-Syrian relations have been in the ascendant in the 25 years that have passed since the 1963 revolution. Equality and mutual benefit, consideration for each other's interests, diversity—these are some of the fundamental principles which have allowed them to stand the test of time and develop into an important factor in contemporary international life. The Soviet-Syrian Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation serves as a firm foundation for multifaceted Soviet-Syrian relations. In this connection, I remember how during my meetings and conversations in Syria, people highly appraised the Soviet Union's assistance in the republic's economic development and in the implementation of extensive projects in power engineering, land reclamation, railroad construction, and the petroleum industry. Our country's restructuring process is arousing genuine interest among Syrians today.

And not only interest and sympathy, which I believe are quite natural in friends, Syrian Prime Minister M. al-Zu'bi said in our conversation. We are trying to actively join the economic transformations taking place in your country and learn from your experience. We already have the first practical results—protocols have been signed on Syrian participation in joint enterprises being set up in the Soviet Union....

The ceremonial salutes have died away, the meetings and popular demonstrations are over. The Syrians have returned to their everyday tasks and concerns. A great deal of work and many unsolved tasks and problems lie ahead. Because the country is still developing and growing.

Kuwaiti Delegation Holds Talks With Falin

LD261402 Kuwait KUNA in Arabic 0959 GMT 26 Mar 88

[Excerpt] Moscow, 26 Mar (KUNA)—A senior Soviet information official has stressed his country's firm attitude in support of the Palestinian people's cause and in rejecting the resumption of relations with the Zionist entity if it continues its hostile policy against the Arab states. He also called for a speedy halt to the Iraq-Iran war.

This reaffirmation came at the end of a visit by a KUNA delegation to the Soviet Union during which it held talks with TASS and NOVOSTI on the strengthening of cooperation between the two sides. The Kuwaiti side requested more comprehensive coverage of the Middle East and Gulf War problems in order to enlighten public opinion on the two issues.

The KUNA delegation at the talks was led by Board Chairman and Director General Barjes Hamoud al-Barjes, while the NOVOSTI side was led by Board Chairman Valentin Falin.

At the beginning of the meeting, Mr. al-Barjes pointed out that the aim of visiting the Soviet Union is to exchange views on the events in the Arab homeland and the world, as well as to build the foundation of relations between the two agencies—relations which Mr Falin described as based on mutual respect, confidence, and understanding.

Mr al-Barjes outlined Kuwait's attitudes on the Gulf War and the conflict in the Middle East, and said: "Although Kuwait is a small state, it plays a big and influential role in making world peace more firmly rooted by following a neutral and balanced policy in dealing with the major powers."

With regard to the Gulf War, Mr al-Barjes stressed that it threatens world peace and provides all those who have ambitions an opportunity to interfere directly or indirectly in the affairs of the region.

Mr Al-Barjes said that the Soviet Union has vast quantities of information which would be translated into media subjects exposing the false democracy of the Zionist entity, which is committed to a Nazi ideology whose aim is to liquidate the Palestinian people.

In turn, the NOVOSTI chairman praised the special and prominent role being played by Kuwait at the level of publishing precise and accurate information about the events in the region, and wished Kuwait more progress and prosperity, and for peace to prevail in the region in climates that will open the road for friendly Kuwait and help to deliver the Gulf area from all the complications resulting from the Iraq-Iran war.

With regard to the Middle East issue, Mr Falin stressed the Soviet Union's attitudes, which remain firm. These can be summed up as follows: This crisis cannot be solved with the settlement of the Palestinian question, which, he said, is not subject to bargaining. He said: It would a kind of betrayal of our principles if we abandoned the Palestinian question.

Regarding the Iraq-Iran war, the Soviet media official said that his country's attitude is clear and well-known—it is opposed to this war, which is daily causing death and destruction. He referred to the exchange of views between Kuwait and the Soviet Union on this conflict and expressed his belief that if there had been similiar cooperation with a greater number of states, the hour of peace would have drawn nearer.

Mr Falin reaffirmed his country's call for transforming the Arabian Gulf region into a demilitarized zone. [passage omitted]

Makeyev Delegation Leaves for Morocco

PM241253 Moscow TRUD in Russian 23 Mar 88 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Friendly Visit"]

[Text] A delegation of Soviet trade unions headed by AUCCTU Secretary V.N. Makeyev left Moscow for Casablanca (Morocco) 22 March on a friendly visit at the invitation of the Union of Moroccan Workers.

Petrovskiy Meets With India's Singh

LD261831 Moscow TASS in English 1704 GMT 26 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 26 TASS—Today there was a talk between Vladimir Petrovskiy, USSR deputy foreign minister, and J. Singh, director of the Indian Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses. The sides noted the role and responsibility of scientists in strengthening intellectual, moral and ethical factors in international relations, their humanization and formation of principles of a nuclear-free and non-violent world.

Briefs

PLO Representative in Moscow

Brother Nabil 'Umar, Fatah Revolutionary Council member, arrived in the Soviet capital this morning, Thursday, to assume his duties as the PLO plenipotentiary representative to the Soviet Union. Brother Nabil 'Umar was welcomed at Moscow airport by representatives of the Soviet Foreign Ministry and the heads of the Arab diplomatic misssions accredited to the Soviet Union. [Text] [*JN242058 Baghdad Voice of the PLO in Arabic 1827 GMT 24 Mar 88*]

Envoy to Oman

Moscow March 24 TASS—The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet (Parliament) of the USSR has appointed Viktor Posuvalyuk to serve as the ambassador of the USSR to the Sultanate of Oman. Aleksandr Zinchuk has been relieved of the duties he performed as the Soviet ambassador to Oman in addition to his principal job. [Text] [*LD250510 Moscow TASS in English 1401 GMT 24 Mar 88*]

Sub-Saharan Africa

UNITA 'Puppet State' Blocks Peace Plan

LD260220 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1745 GMT 25 Mar 88

[From the "International Diary" program, presented by Boris Andrianov]

[Text] The UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] group which operates on Angolan territory has undertaken a political action. As South African radio has reported, it has announced the setting up of a so-called rebel government. The report said that this power—if that is the right word for it—intends to rule from now on in southern Angola, presumably in the part that is occupied by South African troops, which long ago invaded Angolan territory. There is no doubt as to whose interests such a government will represent. After all, it is no secret that UNITA belongs body and soul to the special services of the United States and the RSA, which maintain this band of mercenaries. The main bases of the group are in the northern areas of Namibia, which are occupied by South African troops, and which is where instructors from the RSA train the UNITA terrorists. So no one can have any illusions about the independence of the newly created government, which will dance to the tune of its masters.

The question naturally arises, however, as to why the patrons of UNITA took it into their heads now, and not earlier, to knock together a rebel government. I think that it is linked to a specific event. The essence of it is that the Angolan and Cuban Governments jointly drew up a concrete plan for a settlement of the situation in southern Africa. It was discussed, in particular, at consultations held this month in Luanda between experts from Angola, Cuba, the United States, and SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization]. Submitted also was a draft multilateral treaty between Angola, the RSA, Cuba, and SWAPO providing for the decolonization of Namibia and the withdrawal of South African and Cuban troops from Angola on the condition that Washington and Pretoria cease all support for the UNITA group. Last Thursday that plan was unanimously supported by the participants in a conference of the heads of the African Frontline States in Lusaka. On the same day, there was a report that a government set up by the UNITA group had been announced. What is to be expected after this is the formation in southern Angola of a buffer puppet state which, on a supposedly legitimate basis, will begin to receive aid from the former masters of the UNITA mercenaries. In this way the people behind this scheme are counting not only on blocking the Angolan-Cuban peace plan, but also on aggravating the tension in the south of the African Continent.

U.S. Cooperates With RSA in 'Nuclear Field'

LD242333 Moscow in English to Africa 1700 GMT 24 Mar 88

[Commentary by Vladimir Grigoryev]

[Text] During his just-concluded visit to the Soviet Union, the president of Uruguay discussed a wide range of international problems with Soviet leaders. The importance was stressed of setting up nuclear-free zones, zones of peace and cooperation in the world, including the South Atlantic. Here is what Radio Moscow commentator Vladimir Grigoryev writes:

This is a question of special importance to the countries in the south of Africa. It's well known that the United States has been closely cooperating in South Africa in the nuclear field for almost 30 years. It supplies the racist regime with the necessary equipment and trains nuclear specialists. Pretoria ships nuclear raw materials from occupied Namibia to the United States and in return receives enriched uranium. Already today the armed forces of Pretoria have the long-range G-5 and G-6 howitzers capable of hitting targets with shells carrying nuclear warheads. South Africa widely uses the howitzers in military operations in Angola, but so far without the nuclear charges. The danger remains, however.

The world public, and first and foremost the people in the south of the two continents on both sides of the Atlantic, are worried about growing contacts among members of the military alliance made up of South Africa, Paraguay, and Chile. The organization the World Movement Against Military and Nuclear Cooperation With South Africa has called attention to increased cooperation of the South African racists with the Chilean junta. Pretoria has a direct part in building the Chilean Punta Arenas naval base in the Strait of Magellan. Quite recently, South African naval ships made an official visit to Chile, the first in the relations between the two countries. And somewhat earlier, the Chilean dictator welcomed at home the chief of the South African police, Van der Merwe, and a police general De Witt. There are also other examples of growing contacts between the two regimes. They say this is required by, as they claim, their common responsibility for the South Atlantic area. It is also quite clear that the United States stands behind all this. Such cooperation suits it perfectly. This is in line with the plans of whipping up the arms race, including the nuclear arms race.

The African countries, and first and foremost Angola and Namibia, against whom the South African aggression is spearheaded, are well aware of the fact that such plans will make the regime of apartheid even more dangerous. It's no accident that the voices of those two countries in the south of Africa sounded loud and clear when militarism was condemned at an international conference for turning the South Atlantic into a zone of peace and cooperation, a zone free of nuclear weapons. The building of such zones is not just wishful thinking, not an idealistic dream. Quite the contrary, this is something quite real, a positive factor in international life which shows the desire of the rank and file to achieve peace, cooperation and relaxation of tensions.

Botswana's Masire Discusses Relations

PM241641 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Interview with Botswana President Quett Masire in Gaborone by B. Pilyatskin: "We Have Superb Relations With the USSR"; date of interview not given]

[Text] Gaborone—Botswana President Quett Masire received IZVESTIYA's correspondent and answered his questions.

[Pilyatskin] How do you assess the situation in the south of the African continent?

[Masire] The sickness of South African society is taking an ever tighter grip. The government's desperate measures with respect to their citizens testifies to this. The press has been forcibly silenced, political activity by African organizations is forbidden, and the leaders of the African population are in detention. Many have been arrested without trial, others are under house arrest, including Govan Mbeki, although he was only recently released from prison. The entire world demands the release of Nelson Mandela, but the Republic of South Africa remains deaf to these appeals. Church figures, student groups, and nongovernment organizations are being victimized. And at the same time overtly fascist ultraright organizations of whites and extremists feel that they have been given a free hand.

It is becoming plain that there is no peace in this country, and the instances cited by me confirm this. But the RSA Government is attempting to shift the responsibility for its domestic problems onto its neighbors. This is being done to create a pretext for unprovoked military attacks and the pursuit of a policy of destabilization towards its neighbors.

[Pilyatskin] How do you react to the idea of holding an international conference on the southern African problem with the participation of the interested parties?

[Masire] The RSA foreign minister said that his country is no longer interested in such a conference. The statement of the South African permanent representative to the United Nations, who mockingly suggested that the international community continue its "curses" against the RSA, complicates even more the possibility of dialogue between the RSA and the United Nations.

Then Masire touched on Soviet-Botswana relations and prospects for their further development:

"We have superb relations with the USSR," he said. "The Soviet Union has granted scholarships to Botswana students for study in its country. We are grateful for this inasmuch as we are desperately in need of skilled cadres. In May of last year, a labor agreement was concluded between our two countries, and I sincerely hope that we will soon begin cooperation in this sphere.

"Mrs Gladys Masire and the wife of the late president of Botswana, Mrs Ruth Khama, were in the Soviet Union last year. Earlier some members of the cabinet of ministers visited your country. We in our turn have received many delegations from the USSR. Deputy chairmen of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium led two of these. Soviet artists have performed in Botswana on a number of occasions. An exchange of visits will serve to deepen relations between the Botswana and Soviet peoples."

[Pilyatskin] How does Botswana assess Soviet initiatives in the sphere of disarmament and detente, and its moves toward the maintenance and consolidation of universal peace?

[Masire] Regarding the Soviet Union's contribution to strengthening peace on earth, I would like to note that we have always welcomed any initiative in this direction. In my view it is essential to strive for the elimination of suspicion in relations between the Soviet Union and its allies, on the one hand, and the United States and its friends on the other. This can be achieved only in the event that the two powerful states achieve specific results in disarmament and in the trade sphere. Trade between East and West will stimulate each of the sides toward mutually advantageous cooperation. Last year the Soviet-U.S. accords on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles were reached. I would also like to recall the program put forward by the USSR for creating a nuclear-free world by the beginning of the new millennium. Of course, I would like everything to happen much more quickly, but the proposed schedule is, undoubtedly, realistic. I would only like to recall: The longer it takes to eliminate nuclear weapons, the greater the risk of their spreading throughout the world and of the unleashing of nuclear war. Summing up, I shall say: The best mutual understanding between peoples is more lasting security for all.

Ethiopian Party, CPSU Sign Cooperation Plan

LD242315 Moscow in English to Africa 1700 GMT 24 Mar 88

[Text] In Addis Ababa, the Ethiopian Workers' Party has signed a plan for cooperation with the Soviet Communist Party in 1988 and 1989. When signing the document a spokesman for Ethiopia highly assessed the level of cooperation between the two parties.

East Europe

Gorbachev SFRY Trip 'Triumph' for Cooperation

PM261442 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Mar 88 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Bearing Fruit: M.S. Gorbachev's Visit to Yugoslavia—Triumph for Policy of Peace and Cooperation"]

[Text] The official friendly visit to the SFRY by M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, will go down in history as a major international event of the year. The Soviet leader's trip to socialist Yugoslavia, his talks with that country's leaders, and the decisions adopted in the course of the visit will play an important part in the further development of bilateral relations between our countries and in the strengthening of European security and international peace. The press in all countries continues to comment widely on the results of M.S. Gorbachev's trip, devoting particular attention to the Soviet-Yugoslav Declaration adopted during the visit and the new peace initiatives put forward by the Soviet leader in his speech to the SFRY Assembly.

The annals of relations between our countries include many fine pages of friendship and mutual assistance. The Russian soldier and volunteer has repeatedly come to the aid of Yugoslavs fighting for their freedom. Thousands of Yugoslav internationalists defended the great cause of October shoulder to shoulder with Russia's revolutionary workers and peasants. In the years of World War II the bold actions of the Yugoslav partisans, led by the communists, merged into a single antifascist liberation current with the heroic struggle of Soviet Army servicemen fighting to save the world from the Nazi plague and for the future of all mankind.

Unfortunately Soviet-Yugoslav relations have not always been without clouds. In 1948 good relations between our peoples were disrupted. The conflict that arose did great damage to Yugoslavia, to the Soviet Union, and to the cause of socialism. The CPSU and the LCY had the courage and the sense of responsibility for the common cause of socialism to overcome the phase of alienation between the USSR and the SFRY and restore good relations, as was duly enshrined in the Soviet-Yugoslav documents of 1955-1956.

The Soviet-Yugoslav Declaration adopted during the present visit reaffirms the principles of mutual respect for independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, equality, and noninterference in internal affairs on any pretext whatever. Acting on the basis of the long-term interests of the Soviet and Yugoslav peoples, the USSR and SFRY leaders declared their constant desire to improve cooperation, enrich its content, stimulate further development of the two countries' friendly relations, and effectively promote the creation of a safer and juster world.

[This and following additions and variations are published in Moscow PRAVDA in Russian First Edition for 26 March, page 1. Here PRAVDA's First Edition omits the following paragraph] The Soviet-Yugoslav Declaration was received throughout the world as an eloquent exposition of the principles on which equal, just relations between peoples can and should be based and as further convincing evidence of the socialist countries' unswerving desire for true peace, mutual understanding, and cooperation.

M.S. Gorbachev's talks with L. Mojsov, president of the SFRY Presidency, B. Krunic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, and other Yugoslav comrades were of a businesslike, productive nature. It was noted that for all the diversity of scale, national characteristics, and concrete conditions, the USSR and the SFRY are on the whole tackling similar tasks, the aim of which is to improve the political and economic mechanism of socialism. The restructuring taking place in the Soviet Union and the experience accumulated by Yugoslavia in developing the political system of socialist self-management open up new opportunities for meaningful, mutually enriching dialogue. A concrete manifestation of the two countries' desire to extend and improve collaboration between the USSR and the SFRY in the sphere of material production was the signing of the Long-Term Program for Economic Cooperation Between the Two Countries Through the Year 2000.

The significance of M.S. Gorbachev's official friendly visit to Yugoslavia goes beyond the bound of bilateral relations. Not only because the principles of equal international cooperation enshrined in the documents and demonstrated in practice in the talks between the two countries' leaders are universal in nature. The fact is also that in the course of the visit, major questions relating to the international situation were raised and concrete new proposals were put forward aimed at lessening the threat of war and strengthening peace. [Here PRAVDA First Edition reads: ...and strengthening peace. It is no accident that there was such a broad, worldwide response to the ideas put forward by the Soviet leader in his speech to the delegates of the SFRY Assembly. (new paragraph) Giving a profound analysis of the state of affairs in the sphere of the world struggle to reduce nuclear arsenals and radically improve the international situation, M.S. Gorbachev came out in support of the Balkan states' efforts to lessen the danger of war and widen cooperation. Wholeheartedly supporting the program of measures to ensure security put forward at the Brijoni meeting of Mediterranean states belonging to the Nonaligned Movement, he put forward far-reaching new proposals aimed at improving the situation in that region.] In his speech to the delegates of the SFRY Assembly the Soviet leader gave a profound analysis of the state of affairs in the sphere of the world struggle to reduce nuclear arsenals and radically improve the international situation and came out in support of the Balkan states' efforts to lessen the danger of war and widen cooperation. Wholeheartedly supporting the program of measures to ensure security put forward at the Brijoni meeting of Mediterranean states belonging to the Nonaligned Movement, he put forward far-reaching new proposals aimed at improving the situation in that region.

Reaffirming its willingness for the withdrawal of the Soviet and U.S. naval fleets from the Mediterranean, the Soviet Union proposed that this should not be postponed indefinitely, and as a first step that the number of ships and the potential of the two countries' naval forces located here be frozen as of 1 July of this year and that limits then be set for them. It is also proposed that the Soviet Union and the United States notify each other and all the Mediterranean countries in advance of the movements of warships and military exercises, and invite observers to them. In the speech it was stressed that there will be every possible support from our side for the elaboration by Mediterranean and other interested countries of principles and methods for ensuring the safety of intensively used shipping routes, especially in international straits.

The Soviet Union's new peace initiatives were greeted with satisfaction by the international community. People on various continents received them as further convincing evidence of the Soviet Union's profound and consistent commitment to improving the international atmosphere, as a concrete manifestation of the new political thinking in action.

Assessing the results of M.S. Gorbachev's official friendly visit to the SFRY, the CPSU Central Committee Politburo noted that the visit was a major political event in Soviet-Yugoslav relations, strengthened the atmosphere of trust and mutual understanding between the two countries, and revealed the similarity of approaches to a number of major problems of socialist development and international relations. There is no doubt that [Here PRAVDA First Edition omits "There is no doubt that"] its good results will serve the cause of expanding cooperation and strengthening Soviet-Yugoslav friendship and the cause of strengthening international peace.

Shtyrov Evaluates Joint CSSR-USSR Exercises
LD272004 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1630 GMT 27 Mar 88

[Text] Unfavorable weather was certainly a test and an obstacle at the two sided tactical exercises of units of our army and units of the Central Group of Soviet Forces in Czechoslovakia. It ended this afternoon. Therefore, Pavel Vachtr was able to ask one of the participants for a first short evaluation:

[Vachtr] These exercises were watched by 43 observers from 22 countries, signatories to the Stockholm CSCE. How can we evaluate the course of these exercises is the question asked of the deputy commander of the Central Group of Soviet forces, Lieutenant General [rank as heard] Gennadiy Shtyrov, who was here in the position of deputy director of the exercises.

[Begin Shtyrov recording in Russian with superimposed Czech translation] Over the course of 3 days, the soldiers of two fraternal armies, the Soviet Army and the Czechoslovak People's Army, showed how the military doctrine of countries participating in the Warsaw Pact is put into practice. The exercises had a markedly defensive character. The special thing about it was that the foreign observers who took part had the opportunity to speak to soldiers, noncommissioned officers and officers of the armies in the exercises. They were interested in particular in the actual course of the units' battle activity and their life under field conditions. Regardless of the complicated meteorological conditions under which the exercises were taking place, the complicated battle situation, the members of the fraternal armies fulfilled all exercise tasks and thus showed the good results of field training and their military art. I am making use of this oportunity to express the thanks of the exercises' command to the soldiers of our fraternal armies for all that they showed during the exercises. I would also like to thank the Czechoslovak SR Government and the Czechoslovak Ministry of National Defense for the creation of all conditions for undertaking these exercises. [end recording]

Activities of Observers
LD251740 Prague CTK in English
1614 GMT 25 Mar 88

[Text] Most (North Bohemia) March 25 (CTK)—Joint military exercises of the Czechoslovak and the Soviet armies continue for the fourth day in north west Bohemia today.

As the number of troops exceeded 17,000 this morning, the exercises are followed by observers (43 from 22 CSCE signatory states) in harmony with the final document of the Stockholm Conference on Security- and Confidence-Building Measures and Disarmament. The observers are to verify that the manoeuvres are not of a deterring character.

The observers left Most for the military sector where deputy commander of the Central Group of Soviet troops stationed in Czechoslovakia Major-General Gennadiy Shtyrov informed them of the initial position of the excercising troops.

Later on, the observers arrived among the troops taking part in the manoeuvres and talked to Soviet soldiers. Inspecting an area where a tank regiment was operating, they examined modern Soviet-T72 tanks. The American observers were interested in the duties of each member of the tank crew, their age and the length of service.

Division General Karl Schoeller from Austria said in an interview with the Czechoslovak television he was very satisfied so far with the conditions and course of the observer mission.

The observers following the current joint military exercises of the Soviet and the Czechoslovak armies inspected today also the positions of an artillery detachment of the Soviet Army and the defence field of a motorized infantry battalion of the Czechoslovak Army.

The battalion's commander First Lieutenant Milan Bosak told CTK that bad weather conditions have since the beginning of the exercises laid great demands on the troops building trenches in a difficult and muddy terrain.

Major-General Gennadiy Shtyrov told CTK that both the Soviet and Czechoslovak sides fulfil all tasks arising from the Stockholm document also in the training area. Apart from equipping the observers with maps and other material, we arranged for them telephone communications to their diplomatic missions in Prague and they can call even their countries right from the military area where the exercises are taking place.

General Gudmund O. Beitland from Norway positively assessed the conditions created for the observers. Asked how he evaluates the significance of the Stockholm document the Norwegian general said that from the very beginning his country agreed with its provisions. He appreciated the observers can follow Soviet and Czechoslovak troops in action. He said that according to what he had seen so far, the exercises are not threatening anyone.

The exercises continue tomorrow with all 43 observers taking part.

CSSR Finance Minister Welcomes Convertibility

PM251429 Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No 12, Mar 88 (Signed to Press 17 Mar 88) p 20

[Report on interview with CSSR Minister of Finance Jaromir Zak by TASS correspondent Yu. Trushin, especially for EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA: "First Step Toward Convertibility"; date and place not given]

[Text] The USSR-CSSR intergovernmental agreement on the use of national currencies for payments in the sphere of direct ties, which was signed in Moscow recently, has generated keen interest among the Czechoslovak public. This is not surprising: More than 230 Soviet and Czechoslovak collectives signed contracts early in 1988 on the establishment of direct production and cooperation ties.

"I would like to note at once that the new Soviet-Czechoslovak agreement is unique in the history of CEMA's activity," CSSR Minister of Finance Jaromir Zak emphasized in a conversation with TASS correspondent Yu. Trushin. "It enables Czechoslovak and Soviet enterprises and the joint enterprises and associations which are to be created to make reciprocal payments in their national currencies. Moreover, the enterprises will not be required, as previously, to balance deliveries and purchases. Equilibrium will be achieved at interstate level. The agreement guarantees organizations in both countries free access to their partners' national currency and implies the introduction of internal convertibility for a specific sphere in industry or intersector ties. The rate of R1 to Kcs10.4 has been set for mutual payments for deliveries along direct lines.

"Instructions for the implementation of the interstate agreement on the convertibility of national currencies will be elaborated by 1 April. All enterprises which have contracts on direct ties will be able to benefit under this agreement.

"In conclusion, it is necessary to note that other CEMA countries have expressed interest in this financial measure implemented by the USSR and the CSSR with a view to eliminating one of the main obstacles in the way of the development of direct ties. We expect to sign an identical agreement with Bulgaria before the end of this year. Other socialist countries also show interest in the Czechoslovak-Soviet experience in this sphere.

"The inclusion of national currencies in the international payments system is perceived as a first step toward the gradual achievement of full convertibility of the national currencies of socialist countries and the transfer ruble, which would create conditions for the further improvement of CEMA's financial mechanism," the minister emphasized.

GDR's Stoph Receives Deputy Premier Belousov

PM221251 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] W. Stoph, SED Central Committee Politburo member and GDR Council of Ministers chairman, has received in Berlin I.S. Belousov, USSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman, who heads the Soviet Government delegation at the Leipzig International Spring Fair.

GDR's Krolikowski Receives Friendship Order

PM171515 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Mar 88 Second Edition p 2

["USSR Supreme Soviet Decree Awarding the Order of the Peoples' Friendship to Comrade Werner Krolikowski, SED Politburo member and first deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] Werner Krolikowski, SED Politburo member and GDR Council of Ministers first deputy chairman, is awarded the Order of the Peoples' Friendship for his contribution to the development and strengthening of friendship and cooperation between the GDR and the Soviet Union and in connection with his 60th birthday.

A.A. Gromyko, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman

T. Menteshashvili, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium secretary

Moscow, Kremlin, 11 March 1988

West Europe

U.S. Building Nuclear Potential in Turkey

LD280935 Moscow TASS in English 0856 GMT 28 Mar 88

[Text] Ankara March 28 TASS—The United States is building up its nuclear potential in Turkey, the Turkish newspaper TERCUMAN reports. Quoting the U.S. scientific journal BULLETIN OF THE ATOMIC SCIENTIST, the newspaper pointed out that the U.S. had already deployed 100 nuclear bombs at four air force bases—in Balikesir, Erhac, Eskisehir and Muerted. It has been permitted to load them to Turkish warplanes, if need be. TERCUMAN recalled that Turkey had started the replacement of outdated types of planes with up-to-date F-16 planes produced by it jointly with the U.S.

Concern Voiced Over Turkish Leftists' Sentence
LD242228 Moscow TASS in English 1846 GMT 24 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 24 TASS—The Soviet women are profoundly concerned over the news that the procurator's office of Turkey has referred to the State Security Court an indictment against Haydar Kutlu, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkey, and Nihat Sargin [name as received], general secretary of the Workers' Party of Turkey, who are virtually facing strict-regime life imprisonment.

This is stated in a telegram sent to the wives of the patriots by the Soviet Women's Committee. "We are indignant at the prosecution of your husbands, who are known for their actions in defence of the national interests of the Turkish people, for the strengthening of independence and democracy, and solidarize with the drive for their release".

Belgium To Recall Ships From Persian Gulf
LD252206 Moscow TASS in English 1906 GMT 25 Mar 88

[Text] Brussels March 25 TASS—The Belgian Government has decided to put an end to Belgian military presence in the Persian Gulf starting July 1, this year, Belgian National Defence Minister Francois-Xavier de Donnea said here. True, he made a reservation that this decision will enter into force on condition that no significant changes impeding the freedom of sea shipping will take place in the current situation in the region.

Two Belgian naval ships—the minesweeper Crocus and the military-technical support ship Zinnia—are now stationed in the Persian Gulf zone.

Addressing a press conference, De Donnea said that the operation "Octopus" to send the ships and sweep mines from the Persian Gulf would cost the country 224 million francs by May 15.

Parliamentarians Hold Stockholm News Conference
LD260029 Moscow TASS in English 2207 GMT 26 Mar 88

[Text] Stockholm March 25 TASS—A group of deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet led by Vice President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Valentina Shevchenko that made a tour of Nordic countries gave a press conference at the USSR Embassy in Sweden today.

Addressing newsmen, Valentina Shevchenko emphasized that the main aim of the trip was to set out to statesmen and members of parliaments the comprehensive programme of the consolidation of security and cooperation in the north, advanced by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev in his speech in Murmansk in October 1987.

It was noted at the press conference that during the visits to Denmark, Iceland, Norway and Sweden, the members of the delegation held useful meetings and conversations with members of parliaments of those countries, statesmen, representatives of the leadership of political parties and public organizations. Candid conversations on topical problems of the present helped elucidate the stands of the sides on international, European and regional problems.

Representatives of North European countries unanimously welcomed the signing of the Soviet-American agreement on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles which has been a real breakthrough in nuclear disarmament. The need for fresh steps toward a nuclear weapons free world was also noted. Great hopes are pinned in this connection on a possible achievement of an agreement between the USSR and the USA on a 50-percent cut in strategic offensive arms. North European countries could make a good contribution to the process of disarmament by creating a nuclear weapons free zone in the region.

Much attention was paid to the discussion of scopeful Soviet initiatives aimed at the lowering of the level of military confrontation in the north of Europe and development of cooperation in the region. During the conversations, representatives of North European countries expressed interest in the development of cooperation with the USSR in environmental protection and in the development of natural resources of the Arctic. As to a broad spectrum of questions of the consolidation of peace and security in the region, representatives of North European countries emphasized the need to resolve these problems with taking into account the interests of political security of every state, whether a member of a military bloc or a neutral state. Wishes were expressed that these questions be discussed in broader international interrelationship, for instance, in the framework of a European process or the United Nations Organization.

The Soviet parliamentarians called attention to the address of the commissions for foreign affairs of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet to parliaments and parliamentarians of states of northern Europe, the United States and Canada. During meetings and conversations it was noted that this document was received with interest in North European countries and is now thoroughly studied. The possibility for holding free debates and broad exchange of opinions on all problems touched upon in the address was emphasized. Parliamentarians of the USSR and North European countries declared for the widening of interparliamentary ties and making their forms more varied, specifically, for the holding of round-table conferences and television hookups.

"We hope that our contacts will contribute to the further development of goodneighbourly relations between the USSR and North European countries and to the deepening of mutual understanding among nations", Valentina Shevchenko said.

West German-U.S. Cooperation on SDI Analyzed

LD272038 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1400 GMT 27 Mar 88

[From the "International Panorama" program, presented by Georgiy Zubkov]

[Text] [Zubkov] Five years have passed since the emergence of the U.S. Strategic Defense Initiative. It came about on 23 March 1983. At around 2000, the U.S. President announced on television from the Oval Office in the White House to the entire nation and the whole world that he had given instructions on a long-term program aimed at eliminating the threat with which nuclear missiles are fraught.

But everything turned out to be the other way around. The threat did not diminish but increased. It was by no mere chance that the program was immediately given another name, "Star Wars", and it wasn't just out of a desire to be witty that the "space shield" was renamed the "nuclear sword." How much debate by top scientists on the technical unsoundness of the defense initiative has been published in these 5 years, and how many convincing warnings have there been about the dangers of putting nuclear weapons into space!

The sharp political and scientific debate concerning SDI is continuing. Not only politicians and scientists but also businessmen are becoming more and more actively involved in the argument. And it is easy to understand why. The Federation of U.S. Scientists has calculated that the U.S. Administration has already allocated $15 billion for the "Star Wars" program and of that sum $12 billion has gone to military-industrial corporations, and not only U.S. ones.

Just recently, Bonn too marked an anniversary connected with the SDI program. Precisely 2 years have gone by since the signing of an agreement between the United States and the FRG. This is the subject of our video-conversation with Vladimir Kondratyev, Central TV correspondent.

Hello, Volodya.

[Kondratyev] Hello.

[Zubkov] Tell us how cooperation between the United States and the FRG on the SDI program is implemented, please.

[Kondratyev] If one recalls just how much was said and written, how much discussion, argument and debate there was just before the signing in Washington of the U.S.-West German documents on the SDI program, a natural question arises: Why is it that during the 2 years that followed, firms, the local press, and government sources have put up what amounts virtually to a wall of silence in this area? This is explained not so much by keeping military secrets as by the fact that the FRG has nothing special to brag about here. Nonetheless, certain preliminary results have been reviewed here on the 2-year anniversary of the FRG joining in the SDI program. Those who support partnership with the United States in this area hoped that the FRG would thus have an opportunity to gain access to technological innovations which are said to be promised by the Strategic Defense Initiative. This was the main trump card which in the final analysis outweighed all other references to the possible political cost of this step.

The reality of the situation looks sobering. West German enterprises, West German firms, have received orders to the value of only $50 million. While creaming off the output of FRG industry—I mean optical mirror, reflectors, high-frequency measuring equipment, infrared sensors, highly durable materials—the Americans aren't letting anyone else have a glimpse of what they themselves value above all else, anything that might be of interest to West German firms, for example, super computer and semiconductor technology.

Having drawn the FRG politically into its dubious program which endangers peace, the Americans have given virtually nothing in exchange.

[Zubkov] Thank you. It is well known that West German scientists and specialists actively oppose the "Star Wars" program. What are their specific motives for that and what are they doing about it?

[Kondratyev] Well, just the other day the Bonn press printed an appeal from 180 well-known West German scientists. In it they call on the West German Government to reconsider its position on SDI. Even today, says the document, SDI is a heavy burden from the economic point of view. And, above all, it is an obstacle to the process of disarmament which has started. But scientists think primarily in specific categories and they realize for example that the implementation of the plan will require the automation and computerization of the military systems which are being deployed in space. In conditions where things are counted in seconds and thousandths of seconds, man will be virtually unable to interfere in the operation of machines. They can easily go out of commission, and all of that would bring about a sharp destabilization in the strategic situation.

[Zubkov] And what is the position of the various political forces in West Germany on SDI?

[Kondratyev] The political opposition in West Germany—I mean the Social Democrats and the Greens—pointed out from the outset that in becoming involved in SDI, the FRG is taking the wrong road. There are reasons to believe that the ruling camp is also disappointed. The partnership is not an equal one and, what is more, the Americans have even formulated legislation which simply forbids turning to foreign contractors if there is any reason to be confident that their own firms can fulfill an order.

And nothing came of the idea of official Bonn that the FRG would have its own individual area of research. Recently, a broadcast on FRG television entitled "The SDI Bluff" reported that, on the quiet, Bonn is already starting to develop its own missile defense system and has already allocated significant funds for it. One thing is beyond doubt. For as long as the U.S.-West German accord on SDI and cooperation in the area of SDI remain, even in their current unequal form, all statements by official Bonn to the effect that it is allegedly opposed to putting weapons into space and that the Soviet-U.S. ABM Treaty must be observed, all these statements will have no credibility.

[Zubkov] Thank you. Goodbye.

German Communists Support Arms Talks

LD250924 Moscow TASS in English 0829 GMT 25 Mar 88

[Text] Bonn March 25 TASS—The peoples pin great hopes on a Soviet-American meeting to be held in Moscow, says a statement of the German Communist Party, issued here. The peoples expect the Soviet and American leaders to attain at the meeting an accord on new steps in the sphere of disarmament. But success of the meeting has not been programmed, the statement says. Many NATO politicians and military leaders cannot reconcile themselves to the signing of the INF Treaty and declare not for the reduction but for the build-up and modernisation of the means of mass destruction, thus seeking to undermine negotiations on disarmament.

The German Communist Party has demanded that the FRG Government should take active steps to promote constructive results at the Moscow meeting. The German Communist Party believes that one of the steps in this direction could be Bonn's response to the pre-term withdrawal of Soviet missiles from the GDR and Czechoslovakia.

The Social Democrats welcomed the coming Soviet-American summit meeting. That precise dates for the meeting have been set shows that the dialogue on disarmament problems is continuing, says a statement of Horst Ehmke, deputy chairman of the Bundestag faction of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, which has been distributed here. The statement expresses the hope that before the Soviet-American summit meeting the two sides will remove the existing differences in questions pertaining to the draft treaty on the reduction of strategic offensive armaments.

Spanish Greens Party Delegation Discusses Visit

LD251649 Moscow TASS in English 1850 GMT 25 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 25 TASS—The signing of the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles promotes a greater confidence between the two powers and overall improvement of the international climate. Luis Hidalgo, head of a delegation of the Spanish "Greens" Party, staying here at the invitation of Soviet peace supporters, expressed this viewpoint at a meeting with journalists today at the Soviet Peace Committee.

The delegation was present at public hearings at the USSR Supreme Soviet on the ratification of the treaty on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles. The very fact of the participation of representatives of different social groups, of foreign public in these important debates is an evidence of the fact that openness is gaining the ground in Soviet society, Hidalgo said.

Another member of the delegation, Lawyer Manuel Luengo welcomed the INF Treaty as an initial step toward a nuclear weapons free world. At the same time he said that that treaty is not enough. He said that it is necessary to go further till not a single missile remains on earth.

Summing up the platform of the Spanish Greens on disarmament problems, Luengo said that they declare for a total ban not only on nuclear but also on chemical and bacteriological weapons, for the disbandments of military blocs and the elimination of foreign military bases from Spanish territory. The Greens Party condemns the actions that have lead to Spain's involvement in NATO. The representative of the Greens Party welcomed constructive proposals made by Mikhail Gorbachyov during his visit to Yugoslavia, the proposals for the freezing and subsequent withdrawal of the fleets of the USSR and the USA from the Mediterranean. He emphasized that the settlement of the Mediterranean problems is a concern not only for the great powers but also for all Mediterranean countries.

During the visit, the Spanish delegation met not only with activists of the Soviet peace movement but also with public groups that give serious attention to ecological problems. While their views about the need for vigorous environmental protection coincided, they have differences on separate problems. Thus the Greens insist on total ban on nuclear energetics, while environmentalists in the USSR believe that the construction of nuclear power stations is indispensable to the solution of energy problems. They admit, however, that safety of nuclear power stations for environment should be guaranteed.

It was noted at the press conference that the arrangement had been reached on the establishment of regular contacts between the Greens Party and the Soviet Peace Committee. The visit of the Spanish delegation will end on Sunday.

Latin America & Caribbean

Nicaraguan Peace Talks Continue 25 March

Cease-Fire Agreement Viewed

LD251328 Moscow TASS in English 1250 GMT 25 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 25 TASS—By TASS diplomatic correspondent:

Sapoa, a small and until recently little known Nicaraguan settlement on the border with Costa Rica, can make history as the symbol of political flexibility and common sense. The agreement signed in Sapoa by the Sandinist Government and the contra leaders on a 60-day ceasefire since April 1 is viewed in Latin America and throughout the world as an important step not only towards national reconciliation in Nicaragua but also towards a peaceful settlement of the Central American conflict on the whole.

The road to the talks which led to the signing of the agreement was not an easy one. Meetings between the representatives of the Sandinist Government and the contra leaders were announced and canceled, and the sides' positions were often diametrically opposite. Even now, maybe, one should not have attached so much importance to the ceasefire for a limited period of time, if there was no hope that it would lead to the final ceasefire, the restoration of peace and tranquility in much-suffering Nicaragua and the whole region.

It is believed in the diplomatic circles in Moscow that the signing of the ceasefire agreement reaffirms the effectiveness and viability of the Guatemala agreements by five Central American presidents. The peaceful and just settlement of the Central American conflict can be only reached if the interests of all countries of the region are taken into account, their rights to independent way of development are respected and there is not interference from outside.

From the very beginning, the Soviet Union welcomed the Guatemala agreement and stated that, within the framework of its responsibility for the preservation of peace and forming civilised relations in the world community, it will facilitate efforts aimed at implementing the agreements.

The Soviet Union regards the political settlement of regional conflicts as an important element of improving the international situation, fostering the climate of trust, and solving global problems facing mankind. Any attempts of using force to overcome conflict situations in various regions of the world are fruitless and hopeless.

Tinoco Hails Armistice

LD252329 Moscow TASS in English 2117 GMT 25 Mar 88

[Text] Managua March 25 TASS—The arrangements on armistice between the Nicaraguan Government and the leaders of armed counterrevolutionary forces open great prospects for ceasefire and an ultimate end to hostilities in the country. Nicaraguan Deputy Foreign Minister Victor Tinoco said this at a press conference here on Thursday. He was on a governmental delegation that held talks with the contras.

It was due to political flexibility and constant striving of the national leadership to end bloodshed and achieve national reconciliation in Nicaragua that an agreement was signed, he said. This gives reasons to hope for an early end to war in the country and to the U.S. aggression against Nicaragua. An end to Washington's aid to the contras should become one of the important steps toward implementing these agreements. Counterrevolutionaries must lay down arms, return to peaceful life and participate in national reconciliation.

Ortega Urges U.S. To Cut Aid

LD261023 Moscow TASS in English 1009 GMT 26 Mar 88

[Text] Managua March 26 TASS—Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega has urged U.S. Congress and the Reagan administration to refrain from any financial aid to counterrevolutionaries.

U.S. plans to give aid to the contras run counter to the peace agreements aiming to promote the settlement of the military and political situation in the country, he told journalists at the end of the meeting of the Sandinista Assembly. The only possible aid to the contras now, Ortega noted, was specified in the Guatemala accords and provides for granting humanitarian aid from various international organisations to the groups that laid down arms. He also said that the Nicaraguan Government would not oppose granting such aid.

'Reconciliation' Talks Begin

LD261829 Moscow TASS in English 1639 GMT 26 Mar 88

[Text] Managua March 26 TASS—A meeting between representatives of the Nicaraguan Government and the domestic opposition started here on Friday to reach national reconciliation. Defence Minister Humberto Ortega heads the Sandinista delegation.

Hailing the agreement on a 60-day ceasefire signed in Sapoa by the Nicaraguan Government and the leadership of armed counter-revolution, R. Gevara, executive secretary of the party democratic coordination commission uniting right-wing political groups and organizations, expressed support for Sandinistas' plans to enlist contras in the political process in the country and draw them into peaceful life.

A special meeting of the Sandinista Assembly, the supreme consultative organ of the leadership of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), which was held here, pointed out that the conclusion of the agreement had laid down foundations for reaching a stable and lasting peace in Nicaragua. A declaration adopted by meeting participants points out that this document approves the political course of the Nicaraguan Government in defence of national sovereignty, independence, self-determination of the country, the course for peace and democracy.

The declaration contains a call on U.S. President Ronald Reagan, the Republican and Democratic Parties of the USA to stop any overt or covert support for the contras and to respect the agreement reached. At the same time meeting participants demanded that Washington withdraw immediately U.S. troops from Honduras whose presence is an open challenge to Nicaragua's peacemaking efforts.

The Sandinista Assembly demanded that the USA immediately fulfill judgments of the Hague International Court of Law, which provide for an end to any support for aggressive actions against the Republic and compensation for moral and material damage inflicted on the Nicaraguan people. It also proposed that the U.S. Administration resume the direct dialogue with the Nicaraguan Government to normalize political, diplomatic, economic and trade relations between the two countries.

Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega called on Congress and the U.S. Administration to refrain from granting any financial aid to counter-revolutionary units. He told journalists here that Washington's intention to appropriate another aid to the contras ran counter to the agreement in Sapoa. Daniel Ortega noted that the Guatemalan understandings provided for granting only humanitarian aid to disarmed counter-revolutionary units from international organizations. He also made assurances that the Nicaraguan Government would not raise any obstacles for rendering such aid.

New York March 26 TASS—According to the newspaper NEWSDAY, even the USA's long-standing allies render decreasing support for its interventionist policy in Central America. Officials and the military in Honduras, the newspaper points out, display a growing concern over the country's role as a springboard for the U.S.-backed contras. It is indicative that, touching on the agreement on an interim ceasefire between the Sandinistas and the contras, Castro, the Honduran Foreign Ministry spokesman, expressed the hope that it would be permanent.

At the same time the newspaper BOSTON GLOBE called on the U.S. Administration to stop interference in domestic affairs of Central American states. U.S. troops have nothing to do in that region, the newspaper points out. Dispatching nearly 3,200 U.S. troops to Honduras, President Reagan has drawn the country even deeper in the undeclared war against Nicaragua.

Prisoner Release Endorsed

LD271029 Moscow TASS in English 1120 GMT 27 Mar 88

[Text] Managua March 27 TASS—TASS correspondent Andrey Kurgozov reports:

The National Assembly of Nicaragua has endorsed the government's decision on a general amnesty for political prisoners. The amnesty was provided for by the decisions of the meeting at Sapoa.

During a stormy parliamentary debate on Saturday, a majority of deputies declared in support of the policy of the leadership of the Sandinista National Liberation Front directed towards national reconciliation on the basis of the peace accords reached.

Carlos Nunez, president of the National Assembly, called on the deputies to promote the peace process in Nicaragua, and not to give a pretext for the United States to frustrate national reconciliation or to boycott efforts aimed at achieving peace and at ending war.

The law endorsed by a majority of the members of parliament envisages an early general amnesty for convicts and those who are under investigation for violation of the law on the maintenance of the public order and security, and for members of the former Somoza guard for crimes committed prior to the triumph of the people's revolution.

The first hundred of political prisoners will be released today as a token of the government's readiness to promote the national reconciliation and democratization process.

Nicaragua Urges U.S. Talks

LD280744 Moscow TASS in English 0709 GMT 28 Mar 88

[Text] Managua March 28 TASS—In accordance with the decision of the Sandinist Government on a general amnesty of political prisoners envisaged by the Sapoa peace agreement, the first group of political prisoners, mostly members of the Somoza Guard, were set free Sunday. Tomas Borge, minister of the interior of Nicaragua, described this step as a possible beginning of the end of the war.

During a parliamentary debate preceding the amnesty the National Assembly approved the amnesty decision as a step showing the readiness of the government to promote the process of national reconciliation and democratization. Carlos Nunez, president of the National Assembly, urged deputies not to provide the U.S. with a pretext for disrupting national reconciliation and boycotting the efforts aimed at establishing peace and putting an end to the war.

President Daniel Ortega of Nicaragua reiterated his proposal to Washington to start direct Nicaraguan-American talks. In an interview with the CBS Television Company he recalled President Reagan's statement to the effect that the U.S. would start negotiations with Nicaragua if the Sandinistas established direct contacts with the contras. "President Reagan should live up to his promise", Daniel Ortega said.

U.S. Rejects Talks Proposal

LD281017 Moscow TASS in English 0938 GMT 28 Mar 88

[Text] Washington March 28 TASS—The Reagan administration has rejected another proposal by the Sandinist government to resume direct talks between Nicaragua and the United States.

"We don't need bilateral talks with the Sandinistas", Elliott Abrams, U.S. assistant secretary for inter-American affairs, said on Sunday.

The United States' position, Abrams told CBS, "is clear: We want to have talks with all five of the Central American countries."

In reality, though, Washington's position refutes its stated willingness to work for a speedy settlement of the conflict in Central America.

Abrams underscored that the U.S. Administration was "a hundred-percent supportive" of the Nicaraguan contras.

Adamishim Arrives in Cuba, Reports U.S. Talks

LD271036 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1010 GMT 27 Mar 88

[Text] Havana, 27 Mar (TASS)—A.L. Adamishin, USSR deputy foreign minister, has arrived in the capital of Cuba. At Jose Marti International Airport he was met by Jorge Risquet, member of the Politburo and the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, and by other officials.

During the visit, A.L. Adamishin is to report to the Cuban leadership on the talks held in Washington by E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of foreign affairs, and U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz.

Answering journalists' questions at the airport, A.L. Adamishin said that the talks centered on matters of limiting and reducing weapons. He noted that a successful termination of work on a treaty to halve the strategic offensive weapons of the USSR and the United States, with observance of the ABM Treaty, is feasible and attainable. The deputy minister said that considerable attention at the talks was given to issues of banning chemical weapons and to the various aspects of problems of a humanitarian nature.

Political & Social

Politburo Commission Examines 'Repressions'

LD261324 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1300 GMT 26 Mar 88

["In the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission for the Additional Examination of Materials Connected With the Repressions That Took Place in the Period of the Thirties, Forties, and Early Fifties"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 26 Mar (TASS)—At its recent session, the commission listened to a report from the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee on the results of the examination of the issue of the party membership of N.A. Voznesenskiy, A.A. Kuznetsov, M.I. Rodionov, P.S. Popkov, Ya.F. Kapustin, P.G. Lazutin, I.M. Turko, T.V. Zakrzhevskaya, and F.Ye. Mikheyev who were tried in the so-called "Leningrad Case" in 1950.

It was heard that earlier, in connection with the full judicial rehabilitation of these individuals, M.I. Rodionov, P.G. Lazutin, P.S. Popkov, I.M. Turko, T.V. Zakrzhevskaya, and F.Ye. Mikheyev were restored to membership of the CPSU.

Taking into account the fact that N.A. Voznesenskiy, A.A. Kuznetsov, and Ya.F. Kapustin were not in fact expelled from the party, although their party documents were cancelled after their arrest and conviction, the Party Control Committee by its decision of 26 February 1988 confirmed their membership of the CPSU.

The commission also heard reports by the USSR Supreme Court and the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee on the results of the legal and party rehabilitation of M.N. Tukhachevskiy, A.I. Kork, I.E. Yakir, I.P. Uborevich, V.K. Putna, R.P. Eydeman, V.M. Primakov and B.M. Feldman, who were accused of being participants in an "Anti-Soviet Trotskyite Military Organization".

Based on the findings of the USSR Procurator General dated 31 January 1957, the Military Collegium of the USSR Supreme Court has quashed the sentence handed down by a special tribunal of the USSR Supreme Court dated 11 June 1937 against the above persons and has dismissed the case against them due to the absence of corpus delicti in their actions. All of them have been completely rehabilitated.

By a decision of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee of 27 February 1957, M.N. Tukhachevskiy, A.I. Kork, I.E. Yakir, I.P. Uborevich, V.K. Putna, R.P. Eydeman, V.M. Primakov, and B.M. Feldman were restored to the ranks of the CPSU.

In the course of the investigation into the case of the "Anti-Soviet Trotskiyite Military Organization", accusations were also levelled against Ya.B. Gamarnik. Later the USSR Procuracy recognized that these accusations were unfounded.

The CPSU Central Committee restored Ya.B. Gamarnik to membership of the party on 7 October 1955.

Cognizance has been taken of the reports from the USSR Supreme Court and the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee.

The commission's work is continuing.

Further Reportage on Nagorno-Karabakh Protests

'Mailbag' Shows 'Alarm'

PM251653 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Mar 88 Second Edition p 1

["Department of Social Policy and Communist Education" article under the rubric "Topical Subject": "Our Motherland Is the Land of the Soviets"]

[Text] The PRAVDA mailbag never bypasses issues concerning mutual ties between the republics which make up the Soviet Union. These ties are economic, scientific, and cultural. The number of such letters and telegrams has sharply increased in the last few days. Their tone is usually one of alarm. The reason—the events in Nagorno-Karabakh, Azerbaijan, and Armenia. Russians and Osetians, Georgians and Bashkirs, Ukrainians and Latvians, Moldavians and Tajiks are writing with great concern about the recent events and trying to understand how such dramatic events could have happened—events damaging to these republics and to the task of further strengthening friendship among the peoples of the Soviet Union as a united union state.

Any Soviet person, whatever his nationality, regards Marshal Ivan Bagramyan as a remarkable military commander and thinks of Martiros Saryan as one of our great artists. And surely the same is true of the brilliant Azerbaijani poet Samed Vurgun and the remarkable composer Uzeir Gadzhibekov?! In exactly the same way any Soviet citizen regards both Azerbaijan and Armenia as part of his country and is aware of the substantial contribution made by each of them to our common cause.

Suddenly this black cloud on the horizon of relations between these two neighbors, these two fraternal peoples. People of various nationalities, including Armenians and Azerbaijanis, write bitterly of the events: They emphasize that they have lived and worked side by side and had a comradely attitude to each other. So they have reason to be bitter. After all, friendship and fraternal relations in work, in any task at all are reliable assistants, whereas dissent and discord are not just an impediment, but a real spoke in the wheel.

We have inherited a considerable number of complicated, intricate problems from the past regarding internation relations. A large number of them have been resolved successfully since the October Revolution. The formation of the Soviet Union—a voluntary union of socialist republics—is convincing evidence of this. The problems still persisting in national relations are soluble and, as we know, this matter is going to be focused on in particular by a CPSU Central Committee plenum.

The vitality of our peoples' community has been tested by time and by many difficult ordeals, including the Great Patriotic War. All Soviet people want to live in friendship and work shoulder to shoulder. All of our republics are familiar with Article 81 of the USSR Constitution: "The sovereign rights of the union republics are protected by the USSR."

The USSR Supreme Soviet resolution published yesterday on measures connected with the union republics' appeal regarding the events in Nagorno-Karabakh, the Azerbaijan SSR, and the Armenian SSR has met with great satisfaction in the country. Party organizations in Azerbaijan and Armenia are urged to thoroughly and comprehensively analyze the reasons behind this exacerbation of inter-nation relations, eliminate them in good time, and actively oppose any nationalist, extremist demonstrations. It is essential to create a calm, businesslike atmosphere in production collectives and academic institutions by mobilizing the efforts of working people of all nations and nationalities living in the republics to solve the tasks connected with the revolutionary transformations taking place in our society.

Economic Measures for Karabakh

LD252110 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 25 Mar 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Yesterday the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee approved the report of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers on measures directed at accelerating the social and economic development of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast of the Azerbaijan SSR for 1988-1995. Our correspondent has asked Vladimir Petrovich Lakhtin, the first deputy chairman of the bureau for social development attached to the USSR Council of Ministers, to comment on this document.

[Correspondent] Vladimir Petrovich, what, apart from the events in Nagorno-Karabakh, has prompted this decision?

[Lakhtin] Admittedly, in the recent past industrial productivity has fallen in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. A number of indices are not being fulfilled. This can be accounted for by the fact that the local leadership has allowed shortcomings to develop in planning and management. This decision is important not only from the economic but also from the political point of view. At present, one gets the impression that the people fail to understand a great many things, I think—I was there recently, literally 3 days ago. This is because irresponsible and frequently adventurist elements have marred the people's brains with their irresponsible statements. It is now necessary, therefore—probably—to show them who, in reality, is concerned with taking care of their interests and improving their living conditions.

[Correspondent] What are the main characteristics of the decision adopted?

[Lakhtin] The decision outlines a speedy program for the development of public sector production. It is planned to construct a number of industrial enterprises, or to set up branches of existing enterprises, which can be done faster. But also, evidence of development in the social sphere can be seen in plans to build ten comprehensive schools, a palace of culture in Stepanakert, and libraries, and also the planned restoration of culture monuments. Armenian experts will be taking part in this. In addition, the television committee, say—this probably has to do with your colleagues—is instructed to organize clear reception of not only the central television channel but also the channel of Baku and Yerevan television.

This decision envisages a program for speedy housing construction from this year onward. By 1995 there has to be enough housing to accomodate every person with 20 cubic meters. This will be higher than the average across the country, and than the average in Armenia or the Azerbaijan SSR. What is more, it is intended to modernize the printing office in Stepanakert and in the rayons of the oblast. This will considerably increase the volume of literature in the Armenian language. From this year on, young people from Nagorno-Karabakh Oblast will be sent to the Armenian VUZ's for the cadres' professional training.

The main thing now, as has been stressed by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev in his address to the Armenian and Azerbaijani peoples, is to concentrate on overcoming of the situation that has arisen and on tackling specific social and economic problems. I think that this program for socioeconomic development may undergo some changes and amendments in the future, because it is intended for the long period until 1995. However, what has already been set down in it may become the skeleton of all social and economic work in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, to improve the living conditions of the working people of this oblast.

Armenians Ponder Call To Work

PM251741 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 3

[S. Bablumyan and S. Dardykin report: "Yeveran, 25 March"]

[Text] "We don't believe the press!"

This sentence, uttered by someone, had the effect of a wall separating us from the people around us. The arguments of all who nonetheless were "in favor" were smashed against it. It thwarted some good work which was needed both by the newspaper and, it seemed to us, even more so by the people themselves.

This is how it all began. The collective of the Charentsavan Machine Tool Building Production Association and other Charentsavan enterprises decided to make Saturday, 26 March, a work day. The day on which mass rallies about Nagorno-Karabakh were due to be held. So, the workers in Charentsavan had the idea of appealing to all labor collectives through the press to ensure that the whole republic would work on that day. We in the IZVESTIYA correspondent's office in Yerevan received a telephone call early in the morning: Come on over.

We went over. A few persons drafted a letter in our presence. Shop, sector, and section representatives assembled afterward in the director's office. A total of some 35-40 persons. The text was read, some sentences were read twice at the audience's request. Every word, every comma was jointly, collectively chosen and considered. It seemed that, in the end, everything that perturbs people had been said: About the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh, about the fact that reports about the events around it were not always objective, and about the fact that the Armenian people have been and remain internationalists. They are in favor of restructuring. A confirmation of this was provided by the appeal to make Saturday a work day.

Only one of those present voted against. The rest voted in favor. The adopted text was taken to be copied so that everyone in the collective could read it.

The first thing to arrive was a protocol from the engineering block meeting: "We do not agree with the letter." They demand amendments. We made them together. We waited. A telephone call: "We still do not agree." A about half an hour later the director's office, the reception room, and the passage leading to the plant management offices are filled with people. And now it appears that everyone disagrees. Including those who wrote the letter and those who voted "for."

We ask: Why? A multitude of voices roared the answer:

"We'll get to work in a body, but there's no need for a letter."

Someone from among the party officials who had arrived at the plant advises:

"Tear up the letter for everyone to see."

Why?

Because, it appears, people do not believe that their words would be reported accurately, without distortions. We notice someone holding the latest issue of IZVESTIYA with the article on Nagorno-Karabakh. "Don't you believe this, either?"

"We don't quite like some bits, but it all looks like the truth."

Nonetheless, those assembled calmed down only when we telephoned the editorial office in front of them all: "Cancel it" [publication of the letter]. We looked at the expression on the faces of two or three of them: Could it be that they were getting somewhat excited? But the majority were evidently pleased: It is better this way.

We returned to Yerevan in the evening. It was already nighttime when we made our way to another enterprise, the "Armkhimmash." Whether it was the effect of night shift conditions or the very nature of production work in the casting shop, the conversation which ensued was calm. Even though the same questions were being asked, and being asked again not by us but of us.

"Why hasn't the whole truth about Sumgait been said so far?"

"Why not name all who are to blame for the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh?"

"Why is there intensified policing in Yerevan?"

We had traveled to the plant through the city center. There were a lot of people in the streets, but nonetheless public order was not breached by anyone. And Theater Square, where mass rallies were held at the end of February, was under intensified militia control.

Electrician R. Akhumyan: "These measures are to no purpose. Did anyone breach the public order in February? Had the necessary information been available from the very beginning, I wouldn't have gone to the rally. I simply went to hear. Many others did the same."

Caster R. Martirosyan: "Our words have reached Moscow, they must decide there. We realize that a question like this cannot be solved overnight."

Furnace operator B. Khachatryan: "Don't expect anything bad from our people."

He was supported by assembly worker V. Popov who, together with other workers from the machine shop, joined us at the height of the conversation.

But T. Vartazaryan, chief of the machine shop, believes—and many agreed with him—that "There is need for precautionary measures. When we went to the rally in February, we only wanted one thing: To help people living in Nagorno-Karabakh, to save the monuments of Armenian history. But now, if anyone gets the idea of committing a provocation, let everyone know who did this and why."

Finally, we asked a general question: What will you yourselves do on Saturday?

"End of the month. We'll be working."

The newspapers have published an ARMENPRESS report. It says that the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has terminated the activity of the "'Karabakh' Committee." It is reported from the localities that "Karabakh" committees set up in individual labor collectives in the republic in connection with the events in Nagorno-Karabakh are disbanding themselves.

Azerbaijan Strengthens Public Order

PM251755 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 3

[Own correspondent R. Talyshinskiy report: "Baku, 25 March"]

[Text] A session of the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium has been held here. A resolution "On Tasks Concerning the Fulfillment of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Resolution" was adopted. All ispolkoms are instructed to take the necessary measures to impose and maintain order. The Council of Ministers is instructed to draw up within 10 days a package of measures aimed at solving the pressing questions of Nagorno-Karabakh's economic and cultural development falling within the republic's competence.

The Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has resolved that the "Krunk" Society be disbanded.

'Sober Decisions' Urged

PM281251 Moscow TRUD in Russian 26 Mar 88 p 4

[Report by special correspondents Yu. Vasilkov and N. Kishkin: "Emotions Are No Counselor; Notes on Events Connected With Nagorno-Karabakh"]

[Text] Baku-Stepanakert-Yerevan—In the corridor of Yerevan's Movie Center, where a meeting of the so-called "Karabakh" committee was taking place, we Moscow journalists were approached by the well-known writer Sero Khanzadyan, who vehemently demanded:

"Seek out the truth! Only the truth!"

Indeed, this was already the second week we had been doing just that, moving from one population center of the Transcaucasus to another. And the more we became absorbed in the details of the conflict around what is being called the "Nagorno-Karabakh problem," the more we were convinced that in the heat of emotions and "meetings democracy" each side frequently understood truth in its own way, without a broad view of things and without a consideration for all interests or for the possible consequences of a particular action. In one population center, meetings were under way for the annexation of Nagornyy Karabakh to the Armenian SSR or the RSFSR while in another population center the slogans "We will not surrender Karabakh!" erupted in the crowd....

What has happened to people who only yesterday shared their difficulties, rejoiced in their common successes, sometimes argued but made peace and understood each other? Why have irresponsible people succeeded in fueling passions, pushing thousands of people to uncontrolled demonstrations, and undermining the work of many enterprises?

All this awaits thoughtful analysis. It is clear that much has been inherited from the inglorious stagnation period, when the formation of international consciousness and conduct was declared unreservedly to be a matter which had been "definitively resolved" even where many difficulties requiring real measures had accumulated unseen.

Yes, October accomplished a historical breakthrough, emancipated the nations, gave them the opportunity for free development, and led to the growth of national self awareness and the flowering of the economy and culture of previously backward peoples.

But consideration had to be taken of the vitality of national vestiges from the past, nor could it be forgotten that the actual progress of development generates new problems requiring new approaches. Concepts like the formation of the culture of inter-nation [mezhnatsionalnyye] relations and the overcoming of relapses of national egotism receded imperceptibly into the background. And let us be frank: Have these costs not made themselves felt, sometimes in extremely acute forms, in the present events?

Yes, in Azerbaijan and Armenia many workers have lost their understanding of the need daily to deepen internation relations and to eliminate promptly the questions which arise. Many problems accumulated in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO], where about 75 percent of the population is Armenian. And today it is difficult, without a calm analysis, to determine what of the practice of mutual relations between the economic, soviet, and other organs of Stepanakert and Baku which is now being criticized can be attributed to the not so rare contradictions between outlying districts and the center and what can be attributed to local nationalities policy distortions. Of course, the people who went out onto the square are not ready for such an analysis. Emotions here are poor counselors and unfortunately it was emotions which predominated.

In Yerevan and other cities of Armenia and in Stepanakert, we talked with many workers and representatives of the technical and creative intelligentsia. They cited shortcomings which perturb them in the socioeconomic development of the NKAO. They spoke of the low level of capital investments in the oblast's economy, the unjustified reduction of cultural exchange with Armenia, the lack of attention to its history in Armenian schools, the lack of a transmitter, making it impossible to watch television broadcasts from Yerevan.... Well, these are all problems which merit careful examination. And the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers have just adopted a resolution on these problems outlining a broad program for the development of the NKAO. And the leaders and workers of both the autonomous oblast and Azerbaijan are largely to blame for the fact that to this day these problems have been driven deep underground.

Addressing the working people and peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia, M.S. Gorbachev stressed that the party is not in favor of avoiding a frank discussion of various ideas and proposals. But it is in favor of doing this calmly, within the framework of the democratic process and legality.

But the only sensible way in no way tallied with the position of those who pushed the masses to uncontrolled demonstrations. The extremist "leaders" were not stopped even by the decision, widely announced long before the events, to convene a CPSU Central Committee plenum on the nationalities question, which would make it possible to examine it in a package, without fueling unhealthy feelings and taking account of all interests.

...Let's think about it: To whose advantage is it to divert the masses (as has already happened) from urgent, vital, problems, by slipping in the nationalities question? And why precisely the nationalities question? Because it strikes above all at feelings. And it was on feelings that they were playing. Everything was put into play—digressions into history, the comparison of religious beliefs, a one-sided interpretation of real and alleged facts. And there was just one way out—breaking up borders—and that was all.

In Stepanakert we made the acquaintance of a group of young people making up the informal "Krunk" ("Crane") association. These young people asked us to watch a 3-hour videofilm. In the first frames we see a small group chanting in front of the obkom and oblispolkom building: "We want a session! We want a session!" Among the gathering there flashed the already familiar faces of the "Krunk" activists, obviously occupied with organizational concerns. The passiveness of the representatives of party and trade union committees is leading to the crowd growing from one day to the next. As a result work at many enterprises and institutions in this small city has been disrupted for several days. And here, as subsequently in Armenia, the trade union committees have not been up to the job but have essentially adopted the stance of onlookers and failed to calm hotheads or put forward sensible arguments.

Let's remember. In the heated atmosphere of "meetings democracy" a session of the oblast soviet meets to adopt an appeal concerning a change to the status of the NKAO. In this atmosphere people are no longer in the mood for discussing the proposal soberly, considering its political and economic consequences, or looking at the significance of such a step in the complex of all-union national problems. They are not in the mood for heeding and considering the opinions of Azerbaijani deputies. They are not in the mood... for democracy.

Yet in Yerevan, under conditions where the local organs are standing idle, the newly emerged "Karabakh" committee, whose leaders have called at their meetings for the organization of grassroots committees at enterprises, is setting to work increasingly actively.

In Charentsavan City, at the machine tool building association, we talk with the chairman of such a committee, Yu. Ishkhanyan, deputy chief technologist. From Nagornyy Karabakh himself, he is worried by its problems and very upset that because of these events the plant was idle for half a day, although it is in a state of deep disruption. But he is quite incapable of understanding that a pernicious path has been chosen to resolve the problems: You cannot ask the state something and at the same time issue ultimatums to it. We ask:

"Are you not worried that irresponsible leaders from the 'Karabakh committees' may push people to even rasher actions? For instance, that they may call for the composition of leading organs to be replaced by 'ad hoc arrangements?'"

Yuriy Rubenovich utterly rejects such a possibility. But our interlocutor was wrong. Exactly 3 days later, in the packed auditorium of the Movie Center, where "committee members" from several enterprises had assembled, we heard a categorical appeal from the rostrum: "If you are impeded," one V. Yengibaryan urged, "reelect the party committees, replace the leaders, recall the deputies...."

At the same meeting, committee leader I. Muradyan, eager to become "the nation's leader," persistently tried to push through a decision on an hour-long "protest strike" throughout the republic. And when the gathering refused even to vote on this resolution, its author shouted at the auditorium: "Well, I will wait for the day when you yourself propose this to me (!)."

Let us emphasize, incidentally, that this meeting was taking place when the situation in Yerevan was already stabilizing, when people had left the squares, returned to the shops, and worked on Saturday and Sunday to make up for the lost time. It turns out that some people did not like the call for reason and sober decisions, they continued to play on people's feelings on the basis of the principle "the worse things are, the better."

In our numerous talks at Armenian enterprises, we frequently heard the following grievance: Why do some people call us nationalists, surely we have nothing against the Azerbaijanis? Well, this must be calmly investigated. It would seem that even a sane person can, without noticing it himself, objectively slip into incorrect positions if he begins to examine the problems of his own nation without considering the interests of others, if he is guided by the thesis: Let's resolve our own issues, the rest does not affect us. In a country where over 100 nations and ethnic groups live and work side by side, is such an approach not a manifestation of national egotism? And it leads directly to the loss of firm internationalist principles, without which the existence of the socialist multinational state is inconceivable. Ultimately all our peoples will suffer in one way or another—that is the inexorable logic of irresponsible political steps.

Let's imagine for a minute that instead of resolving existing problems of national relations in a considered, balanced way, we were suddenly to begin to delve frenziedly into history, to ascertain who lived where in what century, who offended whom and when, and were to begin to recarve the map of the country.... What would happen to us, to society? What would happen to the restructuring of the economy and the social sphere on which we have resolutely embarked? It is not hard to judge who will gain from this and who will lose out. And the labor collectives are already thinking about this. Our newspaper recently described what alarm the development of events is generating among the workers of Yerevan's "Zakavkazkabel" association. Our awareness is worthless, they are saying in the shops, if we succumb to panic and allow promising changes to be delayed. Now that restructuring is under way, our place is at our lathes, not at street meetings, the Dzhivaryan family of shoemakers writes.

There is one sober path: Each person must say to himself—yes, I am an Armenian, Azerbaijani, or Russian, and I have the right to count on respect for my national traditions and culture.... But surely it is no less important that I am also a Soviet man who should be passionately concerned for the firmness of our Union and be its patriot? Only thus is it possible to reach sensible decisions. Any other path leads to an impasse, leads nowhere.

Those who have succumbed to the calls of some irresponsible "leaders" are obviously still not fully aware of the blow which is being dealt to restructuring, whose opponents are rubbing their hands: Look where glasnost has got us, they are saying, perhaps they will have to backtrack now. Although it is clear that it is to a considerable degree the fact that glasnost has been forgotten which has given rise to the problems which have erupted today. That is why we will never retreat from it.

And one other thing is highlighted by the events we are describing: the lack of standards of debate, standards of democracy, and standards of glasnost. In Stepanakert we asked several people with scholarly degrees and deputies' mandates:

"Surely you understand that your demands for the recarving of borders enshrined by the constitution, especially when they are expressed in such an atmosphere, hurt the dignity of those alongside whom you are living and will continue to live. Have you thought that this can only cause an aggravation of relations without resolving any of the real problems which perturb people? A solution must be found which will satisfy both sides...."

In response we met with categorical intolerance. It was manifested in instances of pressure being brought to bear on those who think differently, those who are worried by the stormy surge of passions: Either you are with the "committee men" or you are "not a patriot" of your region. Yet democracy presupposes the ability to listen to and take into account each other's arguments.

Intolerance and uncontrolled spontaneous demonstrations always create opportunities for acts of provocation. That is what has happened this time too....

Azerbaijan's Agdamskiy Rayon borders on the NKAO. Party Gorkom First Secretary S.N. Motuzayev recalls:

"At the same time as the start of the events in Stepanakert, excited groups began to gather on the square in front of our gorkom. We could not control the situation. One day an aggressively inclined crowd incited by nationalist elements set off for the autonomous oblast to "impose order" in its own way. Only the intervention of the authorities and the population made it possible to avoid graver consequences. Nonetheless the clash cost the lives of two young men and there were wounded on both sides...."

The investigation will finally discover how all this has been used by the antisocial forces which provoked the tragedy in Sumgait. And the cost of the city leaders' complacency. Party gorkom first secretary Muslim-Zade calmly drove off on leave, confident that nothing could happen in the city of international friendship, as people had grown accustomed to calling Sumgait. To be fair, it should be noted that even at the hour of brutal misfortune this friendship saved many people. Those Armenians who were at the center of the pogrom perpetrated by a group of bandits told us with gratitude of the Azerbaijani and Russian families who risked their own lives to hide in their own homes those whom the brutal criminals were hunting down.

"I will not conceal from you the fact that we were confused," Z.M. Guseynov, director of the Synthetic Rubber Association, told us in Sumgait. "But later we mobilized the party aktiv and people's militia and ensured the safeguarding of establishments, the transportation of workers, and the continuity of the production cycle. We thus imposed order. But the moral injuries? As an Azerbaijani I am ashamed of those renegades who organized this terrible act of provocation...."

The city's leading workers have now been dismissed from work, expelled from the party, and made strictly answerable to the party and administration. A large group of those who perpetrated the atrocities has been arrested, and an investigation is under way. Yes, much here has to be studied, understood, and evaluated. One thing cannot be permitted: That the Sumgait tragedy be used as a card in a game to sow inter-nation hostility. And, unfortunately, there are such attempts.

There is one more thing about which we cannot keep quiet. We heard many rebukes directed against us, against the press. Probably every newspaper has asked itself: How to describe the events without offending or encroaching on the dignity of either side to no purpose? How to wield the power of the printed word without harming the common cause? How to describe the idle shops in Stepanakert or Yerevan. To describe the grave events in Sumgait? In those days did this not mean pouring oil on the fire of passions? After all, glasnost is designed to promote constructive aims above all. And in this in many ways unusual situation the main thing is to approach an assessment of what has happened objectively, not one-sidedly. Time is required (and much will still be required) for this. Honesty is needed, that same truth which the excited writer in Yerevan urged us to tell....

Yes, the hour of reason and sober decisions has come. And we must look not back but forward and learn to understand each other more fully. We must bear in mind that restructuring is also being accomplished for the sake of the consistent assertion of the principles of a truly Leninist nationalities policy. Restructuring needs work untroubled by destructive passions.

Press Reports Summarized

LD261243 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1122 GMT 26 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow, 26 March (TASS)—One must not surrender highly serious questions of the people's fate into the power of elemental forces and emotions: This is the theme of numerous articles published in today's central newspapers on the events in and around Nagorno-Karabakh.

"I am an Azerbaijani," (Azhdar Ibragimov), People's Artist of Azerbaijan and a film director, writes in the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA. "I have worked for many years together and side by side with representatives of many Soviet peoples and have made friends with them. I can say today that among my comrades in films and party work at 'Mosfilm' there are Armenians, Russians, Ukrainians, and Jews.... I am as pleased by their successes as I am by my own, and I am also as concerned about their problems and unresolved questions (who doesn't have any today?), as they are by mine. But, whatever the dream of those who try to erode our internationalist foundations, our common garden of friendship will flourish and bear fruit. We must all learn most serious lessons from what has happened," the film director believes.

The history of the Armenian people before it joined the Union of Soviet Republics was full of tragic pages. "My people came through a great test—the war—together with the other fraternal peoples. So, surely now, when our society is restructuring its life, the feeling of common sense, and a calm, reasoned attitude, even to very complex problems, will not give way to excited passions. I do not want to, and cannot, believe that it will," the worker (Boris Bedzhanyan), an Armenian by nationality, states in the pages of MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA.

Writing in SOVETSKAYA KULTURA Bekhtiyar Vagabzade, peoples poet of Azerbaijan, writes: "The greatness of our socialist state lies primarily in the fact that the interests of all nationalities and ethic groups flow together into a single channel. And we must give a principled assessment to everything that does not serve the unity of our peoples but on the contrary promotes their alienation and dissent among the nationalities. We must remember that we are a part of the whole; there exist among us no "seniors" or "juniors;" all are equal in the great family of peoples. When I speak of what we have in common and of what unites us, I am not at all calling for homogeneity, for the absence of national characteristics. Friendship is a multitude of bright colors that complement each other. They enrich our life and introduce their own national coloring to the rich palette of our feelings. And when people try to play on them and give free rein to emotions while neglecting reason, nothing good can be expected to come of it."

"Who benefits from distracting the masses (as has already happened) from urgent and vital problems by bringing up the nationalities question? And why this question? Well, because it affects mainly the emotions, it is the emotions that have been played upon. Everything has been put into play, excursions into history, comparisons of religious beliefs, and one-sided and purposeful interpretations of real and imagined facts," says an article in TRUD written by correspondents of this trade union newspaper who visited Nagorno-Karabakh. Speaking of the roots of the problem, the authors point out that the events in Nagorno-Karabakh and Armenia are the result of a lack of experience in discussion, democracy, and glasnost. The problems, no matter how complicated, can and must be resolved. But they must be resolved not in the heat of the moment but calmly, thoroughly, and soberly. Let us ponder and together seek ways of resolving the matter, an article in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA says.

The resolution of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium "On Measures Related to Appeals by Union Republics Concerning Events in Nagorno-Karabakh and the Azerbaijan and Armenian SSR's" stresses that it is essential to "analyze comprehensively and in depth the causes of the exacerbation of relations between nationalities, to eliminate them as soon as possible, to come out actively against any manifestations of nationalism and extremism, and to establish a calm and businesslike atmosphere in production collectives and academic institutions by mobilizing the efforts of working people of all nations and nationalities inhabiting the republics toward carrying out the tasks of revolutionary transformations now underway in our society."

Armenians Arrested in Yerevan

LD261250 Hamburg DPA in German 1155 GMT 26 Mar 88

[Excerpt] Moscow (DPA)—In Moscow on Saturday there was a total news blackout on the current situation in the Soviet Republics of Azerbaijan and Armenia. Some papers did publish lengthy articles without going into the current situation. In the reports there are calls for calm and reason. The demonstrators of past weeks were described as extremists.

In Yerevan, the Armenian capital, civil rights activist circles say that many inhabitants intend to follow the idea of the "dead city." This means that for 3 days they will not leave their apartments and houses. The presence of tanks and soldiers in Yerevan has, meanwhile, been confirmed by several sides.

According to civil rights activist circles, four members of the Armenian national independence movement have thus far been arrested. Paruir Airikyan, leader of the organization, is among them. According to Moscow civil rights activist Aleksandr Ogorodnikov, they were arrested at night in their homes. Ogorodnikov flew to Yerevan on Friday to see the situation for himself. However, he says he was arrested at the airport and sent back to Moscow.

There was no information on Saturday about the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh. Civil rights activist circles say that the police there have been reinforced by Azerbaijani militia. The unofficial organization committees of the Armenians have been dissolved, according to newspaper reports. In Moscow on Saturday, the Armenian cemetery was only accessible to relatives of the dead. Armenians had demonstrated there several times in recent weeks. The cemetery was surrounded by dozens of KGB officials on Saturday. Visitors were photographed, some secretly. [passage omitted]

Yerevan 'Ghost Town'

AU261447 Paris AFP in English 1250 GMT 26 Mar 88

[Excerpts] Moscow, March 26 (AFP)—The population of Yerevan stayed off the streets Saturday turning the Armenian capital into a ghost-town to protest against the Soviet authorities' handling of the Armenian crisis, a nationalist militant said. Reached by telephone from Moscow, the nationalist said the city was "perfectly calm and silent" with just a few "practically empty" buses on main streets. The protest was to continue on Sunday.

Soviet authorities drafted in extra troops to Yerevan in case a mass demonstration that was planned for Saturday went ahead. A "small rally" was held Saturday morning in the city, but was broken up by Armenian activists, the source said. "Our advice is not to demonstrate under any pretext and to protest through silence."

The stay-at-home action was called by an Armenian committee to protest against the decision by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet on Wednesday to reject Armenian claims to the autonomous Nagorno-Karabakh region in neighboring Azerbaijan. [passage omitted]

A journalist for the local KOMMUNIST newspaper, reached by telephone, confirmed that Yerevan was calm and highlighted the "bitterness" and "disappointment" of the population. The population "finds it hard to understand, and it is difficult to explain to them, the ban on demonstrations." He also said that some official meetings were going ahead at the town hall and in municipal buildings. "A lot of young people are taking part and discussing the situation, but they have been banned from going out and meeting in the streets and they are following that advice."

The KOMMUNIST paper has published a speech by Armenian republic Communist Party chief Karen Demirchyan who warned of a "new aggravation of emotions and fears with unforeseeable and even tragic consequences." He launched a new appeal for calm and warned the population against "unreasonable" people, including some "who by-pass limits" by calling for demonstrations on Saturday.

Law Professor Reviews Events

LD261614 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in English 1400 GMT 26 Mar 88

[Text] Coming up next is Professor Vyacheslav Shatrov, an expert in Soviet law:

(?There has been) public attention drawn in this country and, judging by foreign press reports, also in other countries, to developments around Nagorno-Karabakh, where an outbreak of (?acute communal) discord took place. The Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous district, where 76 percent of the population are Armenians, has been part of the Azerbaijani Soviet constituent republic since 1923. The issue of disputed area goes back into history, which caused repeated conflicts and clashes between Armenians and Azerbaijanis. Until its present status was given the conflicts as a rule were sparked off by hard-core nationalists. Sadly, the issue resurged repeatedly later, and the national issue is a very delicate one indeed.

Even though the fledgling Soviet Government outlined the way it should be resolved fairly, the implementation of the task of building a conflict-free multinational society providing for equal opportunities of progress by all nations and national minorities is linked to a hard and versatile job of educating people in the spirit of internationalism.

In the meantime, mere slogans of fraternal friendship of Soviet peoples and assurances of the national issue being resolved here for all do not help much toward a real solution. Eulogy and pomp of the recent past, which often prevailed over sober assessments in the years of Stalin's personality cult, and stagnation of the 1960's and 1970's were the feeding grounds for the distortions of the national policy, which led to human rights abuses of some people, including the Armenian population of Nagorno-Karabakh.

Playing on emotions of the disgruntled part of Karabakh's population, certain groups of individuals launched a campaign demanding for the transfer of the area to Armenia, which played a fatal role in fuelling tensions in Nagorno-Karabakh, Armenia, and Azerbaijan. Criminal elements staged pogroms and violence of Armenians residing in the Azerbaijani city of Sumgait. Tens of people were killed and nearly 200 injured following these communal clashes. Demonstrations, rallies, and (?flags) were held in Armenia. True, shortcomings in the socioeconomic development of Nagorno-Karabakh must be swiftly corrected. The infringement of national and other rights, social apathy, and irresponsibility must be stopped. In the meantime it is clear that the issue of redrawing national administrative boundaries must in no way be resolved by pressurizing government bodies or by fuelling nationalist emotions.

The Soviet people realize that the issues of redrawing state and administrative boundaries between different nationalities must be solved proceeding from the interests of the whole of society, since each republic or area forms an inseparable link and an economic and political entity which emerged historically.

The main thing, as we see it, is that all Soviet citizens of any nationality, no matter big or small, would practically be guaranteed equal rights and even real opportunities for combining national pride and wealth from each nation with the spirit of internationalism of socialist society.

The Soviet leadership outlined and began to enforce a sweeping package of measures aimed at economic, social, and cultural progress of Nagorno-Karabakh. Housing will be largely increased and industrial production is to go up by 1.5 times by 1990. The area's agro-industrial complex will be developed further.

Authorities Ban Meetings

AU261455 Paris AFP in English 1440 GMT 26 Mar 88

[Excerpt] Moscow, March 26 (AFP)—Authorities in Armenia have banned all public meetings there unless written permission to hold them is sought 7 days in advance, according to a local official newspaper reaching here Saturday. News of the measure came as a Soviet dissident editor who attempted to get to Yerevan said on Saturday he was told by Armenians from the republic capital that 60,000 Soviet troops had been sent to the city in case of new unrest. Yerevan was on Saturday reported becalmed because of a stay-at-home protest by the population against the Soviet authorities' handling of the Armenian crisis.

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Armenia has ordered that no public meeting will be allowed unless a written request is made at least 7 days beforehand to local authorities. A decree passed by the body was published in the Armenian daily KOMMUNIST and sets out other new regulations for rallies and other mass demonstrations. Authorities will have three days to respond to a request, which must be accompanied by the organisers signatures' and details such as the length of the rally, its aim and costs.

Alexander Ogorodnikov, the editor of a Christian community newspaper, said he, Andrei Chelkov of the GLASNOST review, and an unnamed female member of his staff were on Friday bundled back onto the Ilyushin airliner that took them to Yerevan. "The brutality of the militia immediately brought us the sympathy of the 200 to 300 passengers who were nearly all Armenian," the editor said. He said passengers told them up to 60,000 Soviet troops were in Yerevan and Defence Minister Dmitri Yazov went to the troubled city on March 22. They added that members of a special riot squad and soldiers with dogs were seen in the streets of Yerevan.

"We left the city to the army, you would not have seen a single Armenian in the streets," Mr Ogorodnikov reported passengers as saying. "What they told us reflects a crisis of confidence toward the Soviet authorities." "We are not against the Russians, we do not want to split from the Soviet Union. Why trick us? Why the army? Why the press lies," were some of the statements made to the dissident editor. [passage omitted]

'Normal Life' in Yerevan

LD261935 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 26 Mar 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; correspondent V. Nazaryan video report from Yerevan]

[text] Today turned out to be unusually sunny and warm in Yerevan, a real spring day. Right from the morning the city was living its normal life. It was calm and normal

on the streets, transportation, stores and catering establishments were working normally. It was probably only the reinforced squads of militia at some public gardens and squares that indicated that it was today, 26 March, that a serious situation was expected in Yerevan. Fortunately, this was just an expectation, for in fact, people again displayed a sense of organization, restraint, and reason. [video shows traffic in the streets, people buying flowers at kiosk and walking or sitting in park, with a brief shot of small group of militiamen walking along sidewalk]

[Dr V.G. Khachaturov—identified from screen caption] This just goes to show once again the high level of discipline and the level-headedness of our nation [natsiya], which has a correct understanding of the general situation and is correctly resolving the critical points, deciding its approach and its reaction.

[Nazaryan] What about the reinforced squads?

[Khachaturov] This is a measure of extra caution, we more or less understand this, and all our people understand.

[Nazaryan] Hasn't it hampered life in the city?

[Khachaturov] Life? Yes...

[Unidentified woman, interrupting] No, of course not.

[Nazaryan] Despite the fact that it is Saturday the majority of enterprises and all construction enterprises of the city were working today. Sixty-four labor collectives, like the workers of the Dzerzhinskiy machine-tool building association here, decided to work voluntarily today to make up for time lost and to complete the full volume of quarterly deliveries under contract by the end of the month. [video shows busy engineering workshop]

[E.M. Khachatryan, assembly shop chief—identified from screen caption] What is behind this Saturday work is the fact that we have set ourselves the aim of completing without fail the March plan by 100 percent. Well, we are behind; we have problems both here and with our subcontractors, so we organized the working day precisely in order to ensure fulfillment of the plan.

Yerevan, Azerbaijan Calm

PM261755 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Mar 88 First Edition p 6

[Reports from Yerevan by special correspondents S. Oganyan and A. Chernenko and from Baku by correspondent Z. Kadymbekov under the rubric "Latest News": "Saturday 26 March"]

[Excerpts] Yerevan [subhead]

The life of the city is following its measured course. On Saryan and Moskovskaya Streets road workers are laying blue-black asphalt. Yerevan drivers are maneuvering their heavy trucks with virtuosity in the dense stream of cars. Meat pies steam and jugs of lemonade gleam on trays.... In general Yerevan gives the impression of a "family" town—everything is out in the open, feelings are not hidden, including sympathies and antipathies.

Yet yesterday was an unusual day for the city. It was with 26 March that active supporters of joining the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast to the Armenian SSR had linked their program of further actions. Leaflets calling on people to "mark this day" were to be found in various places. Signed by the "Karabakh" committee, they ended with the unambiguous formula: "We will not end the movement. The Armenian movement for Karabakh will be dictated by Karabakh events."

Essentially what we are talking about here is direct opposition to the package of serious, constructive party decisions relating to the socioeconomic problems of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. And at a time when the committee's "primary organizations" are disbanding. Reports about this have come in from the Yerevan Chemical Reagents Plant, the Institute of Epidemiology, Virology, and Medical Parasitology Research, the Yerevan Young People's Theater. Indeed the activity of the "Karabakh" committee has been terminated because it "does not conform with the Constitution of the Armenian SSR and existing legislation, has assumed a politically harmful nature, and contradicts the people's interests." [passage omitted]

...Everybody with whom we had occasion to speak yesterday afternoon, it transpired, had attentively studied the party's decisions providing for the social and economic development of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. And had grasped their main element—their specificity and the party's genuine interest in solving the autonomous oblast's fundamental problems. It is precisely this that is determining their attitude and the real pulse of Yerevan life at this time.

Let us not sin against the truth, however: The "Karabakh theme" has not vanished from conversations, discussions, and arguments. It is still on Yerevan people's minds. And this is natural, as is the pain caused in their hearts by the tragic Sumgait events. But one thing is obvious: Sobriety of thinking, which is so essential, and real wisdom on the part of the people, which has replaced emotion, have begun to predominate in assessments of what has happened. The moment of truth has come.

This was confirmed particularly clearly by Saturday 26 March, on which hopes had been pinned by those who distributed the "appeal" in an attempt to again give voice to their "spiritual and political" leadership. Working Yerevan rejected it. The city has been living its normal life. The Children's Book Week festival has continued. The "Festival of Festivals," whose program includes the screening of vivid foreign movies, has opened. And Khachaturyan's famous "Spartacus" has been performed on the stage of the A. Spendiarov Opera and Ballet Theater. Yerevan has been working, studying, and relaxing.

Baku [subhead]

In the city enterprises which operate around the clock are working and the movie theaters are busy. Numerous markets in various parts of Baku are buzzing. Only the reinforced volunteer worker militia squads — people with red armbands patrolling the streets — remind you that there is still some tension in the situation in Baku. The reason is the "Karabakh" committee's statement declaring 26 March to be a day of mass demonstrations making the old demand for the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast to be transferred to the Armenian SSR.

The workers of Baku plants, factories, and construction sites realize very well that, irrespective of any impediments, the plan must be fulfilled to avoid disrupting the rhythm of the country's entire national economic complex.

"More than 6,000 of our workers came to work today," F. Guseynov, general director of the industrial housing construction association, said. [passage omitted].

I contacted Azerbaijan SSR MVD Minister A. Mamedov. He described the situation in the republic as calm, noting that the number of law violations has declined appreciably in recent days. No incidents of any kind are being recorded. Public order is being monitored [kontroliruyetsya], and there is relative calm [otnositelnoye zatishye] in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast too. But most enterprises in Stepanakert, the oblast center, are idle.

I also inquired about the situation in Sumgait.

"All the city's industrial enterprises are operating normally," Sumgait Gorkom First Secretary Z. Gadzhiyev explained. "Some 1,500 volunteer militia squad members consisting of workers and law enforcement officers have been on duty, but it has not been necessary to resort to their assistance. The situation is being monitored [kontroliruyetsya]. Entertainment events have not been canceled, the movie theaters are open, and markets and stores are operating. In recent days our party and soviet activists have been visiting the families of people who have suffered. All apartments have been repaired, and the most expeditious measures have been and are being taken in response to inhabitants' requests."

"Everyone must draw conclusions from everything that has happened," Z. Minasyan, a veteran from the "Sintezkauchuk" association, said. "The main task now is to build up the momentum and ensure even greater work results. And also strengthen the bonds of fraternity in every way."

It is difficult to disagree with that worker's opinion.

Yerevan, Stepanakert 'Calm'

PM262013 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 2

[Reports from Yerevan by special correspondents S. Bablumyan and S. Dardykin and from Stepanakert by special correspondent P. Gutiontov: "Saturday"]

[Text] In Yerevan... [subhead]

0915 hours. The first housewives have arrived at the No 1 central market in Yerevan. There are not many sellers. Only half the rows of stalls are occupied. The choice of green vegetables and fruit is manifestly poor.

"Is it the wrong season?" I ask market deputy director A. Gyulzadyan.

"No. The State Automobile Inspectorate is not letting private vehicles in from the rayons. The people who are trading today are mainly from the suburbs. Half an hour ago it was completely deserted here. But goods are being brought in now. By noon it will be full."

We walked along the rows of stalls, interested to find out prices. Tomatoes R10 per kilogram. A green pepper for R1.5. Potatoes between 80 kopeks and R1. In the state trade system they cost 17 kopeks. But they are small and people don't want them.

"Are the prices high because there are few sellers?"

"No, they're normal for the time of year."

"Gortsaranain" ("Plant") subway station. The lobby is deserted. According to the inspector Saturdays are always like this. This is an industrial rayon. Today is a day off.

We travel downtown. The closer we get to the center, the busier the streets. But you get the feeling that the city is still resting. We see a group of volunteer militia men at an intersection. Two blocks further on we see another—larger this time. Then they become more frequent. There are patrols by monuments, the State Bank building, the post office, the Gosplan building.

"Lenin Square" subway station. There are more people here than at "Plant" station. The escalator attendant's counter shows that 458 passengers have come into the station since 0600 hours. Manifestly more are going out. On Saturday morning people travel into the center, not out from it.

A newspaper kiosk in Azizbekov Square. No central or local newspapers on the counter. Sales clerk G. Yegikyan tells us that he received his newspapers at 8 in the morning. Within 15 minutes there was not a single copy left.

"Do you receive many?"

"I'm ashamed to say that we get 10 copies of PRAVDA and 3 of IZVESTIYA."

A customer who comes up is upset either because of the lack of newspapers or because readers haven't had papers delivered here.

"Go to Amiryan Street, it's full of newspapers."

We go there, but it's the same story. The kiosk clerk shows us his invoice: 20 copies of PRAVDA, 3 of IZVESTIYA. Sold out within minutes. He gets more republic newspapers: 70 copies of SOVETAKAN AYASTAN and 170 of KOMMUNIST. He has 16 copies of KOMMUNIST left. The republic newspapers have reprinted the IZVESTIYA interview with V.P. Lakhtin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for Social Development, about the Nagorno Karabakh socioeconomic development program and the letter from S. Averintsev, V. Ivanov, V. Kaverin, and M. Ulyanov entitled "May Our Friendly Voice Be Heeded."

The day before the newspapers had published a report that the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium had terminated the activity of the "Karabakh" committee. Back on Wednesday the collective of the "Armbiotekhnologiya" science-and-production association decided at a general meeting to disband the committee operating at the combine.

"Why this decision?" we asked A. Sagiyan, a member of the former committee.

"It was a logical decision. The program advanced by the 'Karabakh' committee at its latest session in no way reflects our people's objectives."

"There has been a very sharp turnabout in events," deputy director B. Karabekov says. "Let me say frankly that we are pained by the situation in Nagorno Karabakh, but people raised such slogans as, for example, the appeal for an 'Armenian nonparty republic,' which none of us finds acceptable. No real patriot of the Armenian people and our motherland would put his signature to such slogans. The time came when we could not avoid asking which side we are on—the side of restructuring or the side of the forces of retardation, who find this kind of turn of events very beneficial: This is where democracy leads, they say. If we are on the side of restructuring, we said to ourselves, let us discuss Nagorno Karabakh in a calm and businesslike atmosphere. We are not abandoning our feelings, but at this time it is reason, not feelings which must decide."

We called Razdan. How was Saturday morning going there? G.A. Martirosyan, candidate member of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau, who is there at the moment, came to the telephone in the raykom offices. "In Charentsavan all enterprises are working today. Including the tool building association. Otherwise it's an ordinary day off. Everything is also a usual in Leninakan, Gorkom First Secretary D.A. Arutyunyan has reported."

A bread store on Amiryan Street. We ask: How's trade? They answer: Normal. The store's main customers are people living in the immediate vicinity. Many of their regular customers have already been in today.

1200 hours. A telephone call to the Yerevan Internal Affairs Administration. In the last 2 days there has been a car theft and a pedestrian has been run down. There have been no other incidents.

...In Stepanakert [subhead]

What is happening in Stepanakert now? That was the first question I myself asked in Moscow of colleagues just back from Nagorno Karabakh. It is the only question I will try to answer in my reportage.

First, Stepanakert is calm.

True, it is not the usual kind of calm. There are militia subunits in the city and the central streets are cordoned off. To get through to the same hotel, I have to show my documents.

The militia's relationship with the local inhabitants is amicable.

Let me say at once that the crowd that only recently stood in the square opposite the party obkom for days on end is not there now. True, I was shown a videotape, and even that made a forceful impression.

Is it safe to walk through the streets of Stepanakert? Absolutely. There have been virtually no infringements of the law in the city in the whole of March. Nor are there now. Yesterday evening, after all my work and meetings, I walked around the city. There are not many people in the streets. The stores are open. The counters are not empty, there are virtually no waiting lines.

I stopped passers-by, introduced myself, asked them to answer some questions. As a rule the conversation was not a success—it amounted to complaints about the press, republican and central. That is the common opinion here: The press and television are giving a distorted picture of events in Nagorno Karabakh and creating a false impression of them in the country. What do they talk about? They cite details of the tragedy in Sumgait, they ask why we do not write about it, and the explanation that until the completion of the investigation that is being carried out by the all-union Prosecutor's Office, we could easily make even more blunders here, does not convince everyone. They want to know how I came to Stepanakert. When I reply that I came via Baku, they say: "That explains it," and break off the conversation.

In fact, it must be admitted that the profession of journalist is by no means the most respected in Stepanakert today. This is certainly partly our own fault, because of the meager initial reports. Although it seems to me that the atmosphere is largely being whipped up artificially over a number of press items. They read the newspapers practically under a microscope, they seek a second or third meaning in every word. Someone managed to record on film the conversation a colleague of mine had with the editorial office on the intercity telephone, and now it is commented on very freely....

People in the city know about the program for the socioeconomic development of Nagorno Karabakh that has just been adopted in Moscow, and they are discussing it animatedly. But the impression is that not everyone sees it in the same way.

Enterprises in the city are not working today—with the exception of the vital services: the bakery, the dairy, transportation, and water supplies are functioning without interruption. Open party meetings were scheduled for the morning at the enterprises, I tried to attend one in the collective of the shoe factory, but the meeting did not take place.

Although I have been here only a very short time, it seems to me that more and more people in Stepanakert are beginning to realize that not turning up for work, demonstrations, and actions of that kind only make it more difficult to find a just, honorable solution to Nagorno Karabakh's problems. In any event, that is what I was told by the leaders of the "Krunk" committee, dissolved yesterday.

During my mission I had dozens of meetings—with party obkom secretaries, workers, local newspapermen, members of the intelligentsia. The first impression was that what the city most needs now is, as the saying goes, to count to ten, take itself in hand, master its emotions, and return to normal life. In that time I saw very few people who would not listen to any arguments. The majority of the people I talked with impressed me as sincere and honest people—only, perhaps, overexcited.

I will repeat: I am only trying to record my first impressions so far. Finally, one last thing: Too many rumors (which means, still not enough information). They are sweeping through the whole Transcausasus like a raging fire in the Siberian taiga. Yet we must not proceed on the basis of rumors, but of the self-evident fact that Armenians and Azerbaijanis have to live here in one land, that is the native land of both peoples.

Paper Views Situation

NC270918 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0425 GMT 27 Mar 88

[From the review of SOVETAKAN AYASTAN]

[Text] On page two, the paper publishes an article by Dr Karen Khatchaturov, candidate for historical sciences and deputy chairman of the NOVOSTI news agency, entitled "Prudence Must Prevail."

The article notes, in particular, that the resolution adopted by the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, in connection with the addresses of union republics concerning the events in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, in Soviet Azerbaijan, and Soviet Armenia, considers the attempt to resolve complicated national-territorial issues through pressure on state authorities, in an atmosphere of stirred up emotion and passing, intolerable.

The author of the article concludes by writing: I am convinced that [word indistinct], vigilance and reason, and the ability to analyze the situation that has been created objectively and comprehensively will prevail. The faster (?the return) to normal (?life) and (?the restoration) of the vigorous rhythm of work, the better it will be for both Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh and for our entire multinational Soviet family.

Life in Baku, Yerevan 'Normal'

LD271158 Moscow World Service in English 1100 GMT 27 Mar 88

[Text] Many Soviet papers are running reports from Armenia and Azerbaijan covering the situation in the two Soviet republics and also in Nagorno-Karabakh. Nationalist elements intended to provoke disorders there on Saturday. As the dispatches note, life in the capitals of the two republics, Yerevan and Baku, was normal on Saturday.

In Yerevan the factories turned up [as heard] nearly R4 million worth of industrial products in the day. The public transport, shopping centers, and movie houses functioned normally. Forty-one weddings were celebrated.

As prominent Armenian scientists (Agayan), (Marchanyan), and (Orsegyan) stressed in a TRUD interview, the people won't follow the provocative slogans advanced by nationalists under the cover of demands for the incorporation of the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region into

Armenia. The population of Armenia and Azerbaijan, the reports underline, is ready to give every support to measures of the party and government to normalize the situation.

Karabakh Situation Normal

LD271351 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1301 GMT 27 Mar 88

[Excerpt] Moscow 27 Mar (TASS)—[Passage omitted] In the Azerbaijani town of Sumgait, where some tragic events took place in February, the situation has been completely stabilized. Industrial enterprises, the city services, and educational establishments are functioning steadily. No breaches of public order are being noted in Sumgait.

A. Saroyan, a Yerevan University student told correspondents from the TRUD newspaper: "From childhood we were assured that all nationalities issues had been removed long ago, and now all of a sudden it transpires that there had been many mistakes and misunderstandings. These should not have been covered up and, what is even worse, not corrected for so long. Everybody now knows well just what that led to. The large-scale additional steps taken by the party and the government for the social and economic development of Nagorno-Karabakh is the start of remedying the mistakes of the past."

University professors told the correspondnets that "the Armenian people will not follow the provocative slogans." They are sure that "the issues of internationality relations will be studied objectively and in a Leninist fashion, and a CPSU Central Committee plenum will draw up an exhaustive program to resolve them."

The rally called by the "Karabakh" committee for 26 March in Yerevan did not take place. "We discussed this a lot on the shop floor, and all 800 of us were unanimous: matters such as these cannot be resolved by holding rallies," journalists were told by E. Galoyan, a female worker on the low-voltage light bulb shop at the "Luys" production association. "They are being studied thoroughly by the CPSU Central Committee, and the government has already passed a very specific decision on speeding up the socioeconomic development of Nagorno-Karabakh—that is the state's approach to the matter."

According to newspaper correspondents, the overwhelming majority of Yerevan's inhabitants are agreed on one thing: Each person must be aware of the full import of the present situation and not permit anyone to have any doubt that the Armenian people are true to the ideals of October and to the ideas of restructuring. It is our duty, they claim, to do all we can to end the tension in the republic.

The people of Yerevan have confirmed these words by their actions. As the republican trade union council reports, almost R4 million worth of industrial output was manufactured in Yerevan on 26 March. The planned sale of goods to the population was fulfilled. Public transport ran on schedule, plays were staged, films were shown, and music was played in the concert halls. The city saw 41 weddings and 68 births.

'Fanatic' Elements Incite Trouble

NC271710 Baku International Service in Arabic 1540 GMT 27 Mar 88

[Text] The Soviet press today publishes reports from Armenia and Azerbaijan on the situation prevailing in these two Soviet republics as well as in the mountainous region of Nagorno-Karabakh, where extremely fanatic elements incited disturbances yesterday, Saturday evening. According to the reports, the capitals of the two republics, Baku and Yerevan are enjoying normal life [words indistinct].

Decision on Development

LD281304 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1218 GMT 28 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow, 28 Mar (TASS)—The CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers have adopted a decision on measures aimed at accelerating the socioeconomic development of Nagorno-Karabakh Oblast of the Azerbaijan SSR for 1988-95.

The document notes that over the last 15 years the volume of industrial production in Nagorno-Karabakh more than trebled, while output of agricultural produce showed a 50 percent increase. However, a tendency has recently taken shape toward a reduction in the efficiency of public sector production. This resulted from the weakening of the leading and organizing role of both the local and republican party and soviet bodies, and from their slow restructuring under the conditions of widening democracy.

The party and Soviet bodies in Azerbaijan and Nagorno-Karabakh oblast are requested to step up their political and organizational work among the working people, consider the education of the oblast's inhabitants in the spirit of internationalism, fraternal friendship, and mutual assistance as their main and immediate task, and that they resolutely halt any manifestations of nationalism and disrespect for the national feelings of representatives of various peoples.

In the course of this year and next year it has been decided to work out a comprehensive program for the development of Nagorno-Karabakh Oblast for the period up to the year 2005. During the next 5-year period (1991-95) an increase in the volume of housing construction by 1.4 times, and the construction of new schools to ensure that all children are educated on a single-shift system, is envisaged. Over the same period it is planned to build in Stepanakert, the Nagorno-Karabakh capital, an 850-seat palace of culture, a 400-bed oblast hospital, and a polyclinic capable of handling 600 visits per shift, as well as a children's club, a library, and other social and cultural facilities.

The relevant bodies have been given instructions to ensure as quickly as possible the stable reception in Nagorno-Karabakh of the Central Television channel from Moscow, as well as full provision of Azerbaijani and Armenian television channels. The Azerbaijani Government has been asked to examine—taking into account the wishes of the Armenian population living in the republic—the matter of opening an Armenian drama theater in Baku, and also to implement a package of measures to restore and renew historical and cultural monuments in the territory of Nagorno-Karabakh.

The decision instructs the relevant departments to further improve the work of Armenian schools in Nagorno-Karabakh, as well as in other regions of Azerbaijan, where there is an Armenian population.

The government's decision contains an extensive list of other specific instructions which are directed at speeding up the socioeconomic and cultural development of Nagorno-Karabakh.

Armenians Cable Gorbachev

LD281346 Hamburg DPA in German 1210 GMT 28 Mar 88

[Text] [No dateline as received]—The Armenian independence movement, in a telegram to Soviet party leader Mikhail Gorbachev, has protested the arrest of three of its members, the Moscow civil rights campaigner Aleksandr Ogorodnikov said today. Paruir Airkiyan, the movement's leader, is among those arrested.

The telegram, which is also addressed to the procurator general, Aleksandr Rekunkov, says that the movement had never pursued antisocialist objectives. The arrest is against all the humanist objectives announced by the Soviet leadership.

Neither Ogorodnikov nor any other civil rights campaigners could put telephone calls through to Armenia today. Western correspondents also tried in vain to establish contact with the unofficial organization committee in Yerevan.

Sumgait Prosecutor Interviewed

PM251529 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 12 Mar 88 p 1

[AZERINFORM report: "Investigation Is Being Carried Out"]

[Text] As has already been reported in the press, the situation in the city of Sumgait has stabilized. Life is returning to its normal keel, all enterprises in industry, trade, consumer services, and public catering are operating, and the city's transport is functioning. Order and tranquillity are being ensured for the inhabitants.

Correspondents from AZERINFORM and the newspaper VYSHKA met with Senior Counselor of Justice I. Gaibov, Sumgait city prosecutor.

He said in conversation, among other things, that the law-enforcement organs have arrested persons involved in violating public order. A special group from the USSR Prosecutor's Office collaborating with local Prosecutor's Office organs is investigating the detainees' involvement in the murders, violence, and robberies which took place. It has emerged in the course of the investigation that some of the hooligans are criminal elements and parasites with previous convictions. The requisite material is at the disposal of the investigation, making it possible to thoroughly establish the degree of culpability of each person involved in the crimes.

The city's public are greatly assisting the investigative organs.

Prosecutor's office personnel, I. Gaibov stressed in conclusion, are now taking the most vigorous steps to ensure that not a single person who participated in the disorders evades responsibility.

More on Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet Decision

NC251952 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0715 GMT 25 Mar 88

[The following item, which was broadcast with clear reception, substitutes for LD251457, published under the headline "Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet Dissolves Committee" in the 25 March Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pp 34-35]

[Text] At the Presidium of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet:

On 24 March a meeting of the Supreme Soviet Presidium of the republic was held by its chairman, Comrade Tataliyev. The question of the appeals by the union republics over events in Nagorno-Karabakh, Azerbaijan SSR and Armenia SSR, and duties concerning the fulfillment of the resolution of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, were discussed. Comrade Tataliyev gave information about the meeting of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium held on 20 March. During the discussion of envisaged questions, Aslanov, Kamalov, Kadryov, Dzhamalova, Mustafayev, Sokolov, Tagiyev, Guseyinov, and Yusufova, members of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; Rustam-Zade, chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet; and Kadiyeva, secretary of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium read reports.

At the meeting of the Supreme Soviet Presidium of the republic, Comrade Kyamran Bagirov, Communist Party first secretary of the Azerbaijan Central Committee, read a report.

The Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has adopted a decision on this question. The decision will be published in the press.

The Presidium of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet adopted decrees on the approval of the regulation governing the organizing and holding of assemblies, meetings, street marches, and demonstrations, and on responsibility for the violation of the regulations governing the organization and holding of assemblies, meetings, street marches and demonstrations.

Resolution of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on measures concerning the appeals of the union republics on events in Nagorno-Karabakh, Azerbaijan SSR and Armenia SSR, and on duties concerning the fulfillment of the resolution of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium:

1. Appeals of the presidiums of the supreme soviets of the RSFSR, the Ukrainian, Belorussian, Uzbek, Kazakh, Georgian, Lithuanian, Moldavian, Latvian, Kirghiz, Tajik, Turkmen, and Estonian SSR's have reached the Presidium of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet. These appeals state that workers in the fraternal republics are deeply worried and anxious over the situation that has come about in Azerbaijan SSR and Armenia SSR in connection with events in Nagorno-Karabakh. The Presidium of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet expresses its sincere gratitude for the fraternal solidarity of the presidiums of the supreme soviets of the union republics, and considers this act as the expression of the unity and cohesion of the Soviet peoples, their solicitude for preserving the basis of the might of the Socialist fatherland, and their serious concern over the events, unprecedented in the whole history of national relations in the USSR.

On 20 March, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium examined the measures concerning the appeals of the union republics on events in Nagorno-Karabakh, Azerbaijan SSR, and Armenia SSR and adopted the relevant decisions. The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet recognized it as intolerable that attempts should be made to resolve complicated national-territorial issues through pressure on state authorities, in an atmosphere in which emotions and passions are whipped up and self-styled formulations are set up calling for the national-state and national-administrative borders enshrined in the USSR Constitution to be redrawn, and noted that all this can further complicate the situation and lead to unforeseeable consequences.

The Presidium of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet fully shares the anxiety of the presidiums of the supreme soviets of the union republics about the complicated situation in Azerbaijan SSR and Armenia SSR connected with events in Nagorno-Karabakh and completely agrees that this harms peoples of both republics and generally the further strengthening of friendship among peoples of the USSR.

The Presidium of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet resolutely condemns the criminal actions allowed by individuals and groups that resulted in human casualties. Workers in the republic can rest assured that the guilty will be brought to serious administrative responsibility and to criminal responsibility and will receive the necessary punishment.

The Presidium of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet decrees:

1. To adopt for guidance and implementation the resolution of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on measures connected with the addresses of union republics concerning the events in Nagorno-Karabakh, the Azerbaijan SSR, and the Armenia SSR.

2. The Presidium of the Nakhdzhivan ASSR Supreme Soviet, executive committee of the people's deputies of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, and executive committees of rayon and city soviets of the republic are taking necessary measures to create social security everywhere, protect the tranquillity of the population, to ensure the unwavering enforcement of socialist legality and secure the rights and interests of citizens in the light of the resolution of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on measures concerning appeals of the union republics on events in Nagorno-Karabakh, Azerbaijan SSR and Armenia SSR.

In work collectives of all establishments, departments, and organizations and in educational establishments conditions of work be created. By using the rights given to local soviets, all actions and phenomena that harm the cohesion and unity of peoples be resolutely eliminated. Resistence be shown resolutely to every phenomenon of nationalism and extremism. Those who by their actions violate the stabilization of the situation and intend to harm the friendship and cooperation of peoples be brought to serious responsibility. Deputies and the aktivs of the soviets, together with party, trade union, and Komsomol organizations, must decisively carry out mass political work, explaining to the populace the essence of the Leninist nationalities policy and the necessity of respecting the citizens' sense of national self-esteem. A tranquil and practical atmosphere should be created in every enterprise, every organization, kolkhozes, sovkhozes, departments, educational establishments and all work collectives, and the workers of all nationalities and peoples should be mobilized to fulfill the tasks for the revolutionary changes which are being implemented in accordance with the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the later plenums of the CPSU Central Committee.

3. The Azerbaijan Council of Ministers will prepare a complex of measures within 10 days for solving pressing questions of economic, social and cultural development of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast that come under republican authority and adopt the relevant decision. Ministries of the Azerbaijan SSR and state committees and chief administrators should secure unreserved observance of state and labor discipline in establishments and organizations under them. The question should be deliberated of the personal responsibility of leading workers for having allowed the disruption of the normal work of enterprises, kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and construction and educational organizations, for failing to meet state plan targets, and for the damage caused to the national economy.

4. Taking into account the fact that the so-called Krunk Association, created in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, has been assuming functions not appropriate to it, that its activities essentially contradict the goals of communist construction and the principles of socialist internationalism, and that it has been inciting the population to mass disturbances, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Azerbaijan SSR resolves that this association, the bodies that lead it, its committee, and the council are dissolved, and that the prosecuting officials ensure the urgent implementation of the present resolution and not allow illegal activities of any kind by self-styled organizations.

5. That the republic's ministry of Internal Affairs and the Prosecutor's Office embark upon the most decisive measures, for the purpose of ensuring law and order and in accordance with the law against persons who perpetrate anti-social activities, incite ehtnic hostility, or call for disobedience to the legal demands of the organs of authority.

It should be noted that the USSR Prosecutor's Office is carrying out an extensive investigation of the crimes committed in Apsheron and Sumgait.

6. That it be considered essential to accept the decrees of the Presidium of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet on the rules for organizing and holding gatherings, meetings, marches, and demonstrations and on responsibility for violating the established rules of organizing and holding gatherings, meetings, marches, and demonstrations.

7. Proposals be sent to the Presidium of the Armenia SSR Supreme Soviet on implementing measures in the field of strengthening socialist legality and social security, securing protection of legal interests of citizens of all nationalities, and strengthening friendship and cooperation of fraternal Soviet peoples. Mass media be instructed to strengthen the idea of friendship and brotherhood of Soviet peoples by all means and to expose actively every attempt to incite national hostility and to restrict the rights and interests of various nationalities and peoples living in the republic.

[Signed] Tatliyev, chairman of the Presidium of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet

Kadiyeva, secretary of the Presidium of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet

City of Baku, 24 March 1988

Public Order Squads Quell Riga 'Provocation'

LD261609 Moscow TASS in English 1559 GMT 26 Mar 88

[Text] Riga March 26 TASS—Thousands of people of Riga, on the initiative of writers' and artists' unions and a number of other creative workers organizations, gathered last Friday at the Bralu cemetery in the capital of Latvia, a Soviet Baltic Republic, to place flowers and with a minute's silence pay homage to the memory of innocent victims of the period of Stalin's personality cult. Throughout the day, some people also placed flowers at the monument of freedom. This is reported today by newspapers of this Baltic republic.

The press says that, deplorably, in the forties, in conditions of an acute socio-political confrontation, serious violations of legality, characteristic of the period of the cult of Stalin's personality were made, as a result of which innocent people were repressed.

The names of Latvians who played the outstanding role in the October Revolution, the civil war and the subsequent years of socialist construction are in the dramatic pages of the country's history. Among them are prominent party and state leader Najis Rudzutak, first commander-in-chief of the Red Army Joakims Vacetis, poet and military commander Roberts Eidemans and others. In memory of the innocent victims to Stalin's personality cult candles were lit at Latvians' holy places. Funeral music sounded at the eternal fire and the sculpture of mother-Latvia.

It is mentioned in the press that in the post-war years, Latvia, freed from fascist occupation, was compelled to protect its people against nationalistic bands left behind by Hitlerites in forests, against saboteurs. According to incomplete information more than 1.5 thousand people, mainly peaceful citizens, were killed by armed bandits in those years. The bandits were backed by rural bourgeoisie which fiercely resisted collectivisation. The action for resettling fierce opponents to new society in remote areas of the country was carried out in these conditions in March 1949.

The press says that a handful of irresponsible people was swayed by the calls of Western radio stations, made over a prolonged period of time, to turn the remembrance ceremony into a sort of a "manifestation of protest." On that very day several hundred people tried to stage a sacrilegeous provocation in the centre of the city near the monument of freedom. Hysterical outcries, whistles, insults to representatives of the public and authorities, whose calls to observe public order went unheeded, were discordant to the mood in which most people came to the monument.

The excess has been localised due to vigorous actions of voluntary public order squads, with the minimum intervention of the militia. Nine persons have been detained and brought to administrative account for the violation of public order—refusal to vacate the carriageway so as not to obstruct traffic and pedestrian movement in the busiest street of Riga, a TASS correspondent was told at the republic's Ministry of the Interior.

Estonian Meeting on 'Blank Spots' of History

LD262016 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1855 GMT 26 Mar 88

[Text] Tallinn, 26 Mar (TASS)—Inhabitants of Soviet Estonia laid flowers last Friday at the monument to Anton Tammsaare, the classical writer of Estonian literature, and at the sculpture of Linda, heroine of the Estonian national epic. This action by the public of the Baltic republic was carried out to honor the memory of citizens who fell victim to the period of the cult of personality and who were deported from the republic in 1949.

Scholars, public figures, and residents of the city gathered afterward in the House of Political Education of the Communist Party of Estonia Central Committee. Here a question-and-answer evening took place, at which there was a sharp discussion of the blank spots of history and the problems which face the working people of the republic today.

It was noted at the meeting that collectivization of agriculture in the postwar years was carried out under conditions of acute class struggle. The rural bourgeoisie and the kulaks became the buttress of the counterrevolutionary forces. They took an active part in acts of terrorism and bandit-like raids upon Soviet activists. During the forties and fifties 891 Estonian patriots were killed, and 206 were wounded: 628 armed robberies, 15 acts of sabotage and 775 attacks upon farms and private individuals took place.

In the situation that had arisen by the year 1949 it was decided to deport opponents of the socialist reforms in Estonia to other parts of the country with the object of halting the banditry and neutralizing the kulaks. Unfortunately, it was noted at the meeting, totally unjustified excesses and violations of socialist legality were allowed to take place in this, as a result of which many innocent people suffered.

Such violations of socialist legality occurred under the conditions of Stalin's personality cult, (Aak Kirikal), first deputy justice minister of Estonia, stated at the meeting. Approximately 1,500 deported inhabitants of Estonia were rehabilitated during the fifties and sixties. (Kirikal) stated that the republic's law enforcement bodies are taking all steps for the rehabilitation of people who were illegally repressed during the period of the Stalin personality cult.

At the meeting there was criticism of the insufficiently effective actions of the republic's leadership under the conditions of restructuring and glasnost. The implementation of the Food Program is proceeding slowly, and the housing problem requires solution as soon as possible. The local soviets are not making full use of the rights they have been granted. Problems of practical bilingualism and ecology were noted.

Despite the opportunity provided for freely expressing their views, some irresponsible people from the so-called group for making public the Molotov-Ribbentrop treaty and the Word of Freedom religious group tried, by playing on the feelings of those who had come on that day to lay flowers and light candles in memory of those who suffered, to organize a mob gathering at the Tammsaare monument. Five people were detained for organizing disorders.

Anti-Stalinist Demonstrations in Estonia, Latvia

AU261751 Paris AFP in English 1721 GMT 26 Mar 88

[Excerpt] Moscow, March 26 (AFP)—More than 5,000 demonstrators in the Estonian capital of Tallinn called Friday for a monument in memory of the victims of Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin, a dissident source there said Saturday. A similar demonstration took place Friday in the Latvian capital, Riga, another dissident reported.

The Estonian dissident, reached by telephone, said demonstrators also called for the publication of a 1939 Soviet-German pact held to contain a secret clause allowing the annexation of Estonia and its Baltic neighbours—Latvia and Lithuania—by the Red Army.

Nine people were arrested during the demonstration which lasted for half an hour as about 400 uniformed police looked on, the dissident said, adding that all nine were later released. Those arrested included Lagle Parek, a prominent Estonian dissident who received a six-year jail term in 1983, but was pardoned in January 1987.

Meanwhile, Alexandr Podrabinek, editor of the dissident EEXPRESS-KHRONIKA in Latvia, said Saturday that about 50 people were arrested at a meeting in Riga. [passage omitted]

Crimean Tatars Detained After Protest

AU251541 Paris AFP in English 15244 GMT 25 Mar 88

[Excerpts] Moscow, March 25 (AFP)—Police detained 45 Crimean Tatars who were demonstrating outside the capital's mosque Friday for the right to return to the

Crimea, a Tatar witness told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE. After attending weekly prayer, the Tatars unfurled banners outside the mosque, demanding the right to live in the Black Sea peninsula, the witness added. [passage omitted]

The protesters talked for 20 minutes with Moslems leaving the mosque, and in non-violent resistance to the police forces, sat on the pavement outside. They were finally dragged away in buses amidst rowdy protests from the crowd of onlookers. [passage omitted]

Gorbachev Attends Gorkiy Anniversary Meeting

LD281548 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 28 Mar 88

[Text] Today there are many events connected with the 120th anniversary of the birth of Aleksey Maksimovich Gorkiy. In Moscow Arts Theater a solemn meeting is now being held. In the presidium are Comrades Gorbachev, Vorotnikov, Yakovlev, and Demichev. There are also well-known writers, scientists, masters of art, representatives of working collectives, party, local soviet and public organizations.

Busygin Appointed Timber Industry Minister

LD281435 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 28 Mar 88

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has appointed Mikhail Ivanovich Busygin as USSR minister of the timber industry. (Aleksandr Sergeyevich Isayev) has become head of the USSR State Committee for Forestry.

Doguzhiyev Named Machine Building Minister

LD262629 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1450 GMT 26 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow, 26 Mar (TASS)—The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has appointed Vitaliy Doguzhiyev USSR minister of general machine building. He was born in 1935. He is an Adygei. After graduating from Dnepropetrovsk State University (the Ukraine), he worked his way up from the chief of a design office to the chief of a workshop to being the director of a machine building works. In 1983 he was appointed the USSR deputy minister of general machine building. He has been the first deputy minister of general machine building of the USSR since 1987.

Katusev on Democracy, Public Order Relationship

PM261641 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 12 Mar 88 p 2

[A. Eberlin interview with A.F. Katusev, USSR deputy general prosecutor, under the rubric "Topical Interview": "Democracy and Public Order"; date and place not given]

[Text] Question: As a result of the events in Nagorno-Karabakh and Sumgait you sometimes hear people saying that democracy and glasnost are largely "to blame" for what has happened. Tell me, Aleksandr Filippovich, is it right to conclude that freedom in social relations can give rise to disorders and violations of socialist legality? Does it not seem to you that some members of the population are confusing democracy with anarchy?

Answer: Socialist democracy has nothing in common with total license and anarchy. Socialist democracy is a democracy of the highest historical order which meets society's immediate and long-term needs. It is an organic combination of glasnost and responsibility, independence and discipline, and the rights and obligations of members of society.

Real democracy does not exist outside the law or above the law. As was pointed out at the 27th CPSU Congress, democracy has been and still is a most important lever for strengthening socialist legality, and the firm rule of law is an inalienable part of our democracy. That is why those who connect the recent disturbances [besporyadki] in some regions with democracy and glasnost are seriously mistaken. Publicly expressing an opinion in democratic conditions is one thing. But organizing disturbances is another matter entirely. These are different concepts in both political and legal respects. Living and working in conditions of real democracy is impossible without the strictest compliance with Soviet laws. Socialist democracy is necessary if the rule of law is to be strengthened and if justice is to prevail. But disturbances are a direct encroachment on the rule of law, which is strong enough to stop any such demonstration.

Question: Individual citizens and even groups of citizens now have the opportunity to openly hold demonstrations. What are the compulsory requirements for their organization? How is public order to be maintained when such measures are being undertaken?

Answer: Yes, our constitution guarantees Soviet citizens freedom to hold street marches and demonstrations. Let us take a look at Article 50 of the USSR Constitution. It directly states that freedom to hold marches and demonstrations is guaranteed when they are conducted in line with public interests and for the purpose of strengthening and developing the socialist system. It goes without saying that these peaceful marches have nothing in common with unorganized, uncontrolled demonstrations accompanied by breaches of the public order, to say nothing of mass disturbances.

Consequently, the need to regulate the procedure for holding marches and demonstrations has arisen in line with the broadening of democracy, which some people sometimes try to use as a cover for demonstrations of this kind. This issue was first decided in Moscow, when the Moscow Gorispolkom approved a special resolution. This issue was subsequently regulated in a number of other cities, including Baku, where a decision by the gorispolkom laid down the rules for holding assemblies, meetings, marches, demonstrations, and other mass undertakings in the city's streets, squares, avenues, parks, and gardens.

I must say that this initiative on the part of local soviets deserves approval, because it aims to ensure compliance with the law and to guarantee public order and the protection of citizens' rights and legal interests, the rules of socialist coexistence [obshchezhitiye], and the norms of morality and ethics.

Question: Has the time not come to change our attitude, and especially the attitude of law enforcement organs, to public order? What lessons should they learn from the events in Sumgait?

Answer: The maintenance of public order has always been the center of attention of party, soviet, and law enforcement organs. Our laws are sufficiently effective to maintain order and, if applied correctly and promptly, are able to guarantee exemplary public order.

With regard to the events in Sumgait, I must say that some lessons, and very serious lessons at that, must be learned from them. I must be frank—the warning mechanism did not work properly. We should have foreseen events and promptly taken every measure necessary and used the force of authority, which could have prevented the known consequences.

Question: Could we conclude that events such as those in Kazakhstan, Yakutia, and here in Nagorno-Karabakh and Sumgait are to a certain extent the result of the population's poor knowledge of the law? How does the Prosecutor's Office feel about this, and what must be done to rectify the situation?

Answer: You know, people are right when they say that ignorance of the law and its result—legal nihilism—sometimes assume a militant, antisocial nature and are expressed in flagrant transgressions of the law. It is certainly no accident that citizens' legal education is described as one of the most important tasks of ideological education work in the CPSU Program. Some reserves for deepening people's legal knowledge are to be found in legal propaganda, in which Prosecutor's Office organs take part. It is another matter that at present this kind of work does not meet vital requirements. The task is to make it more effective and not simply provide legal education for people but cultivate their solidarity with the law and encourage them to take an active, vital stand to defend its norms.

Question: We are right to say that democracy has to be learned. This means that we must first of all learn to understand one another, respect our opponent, and learn the art of discussion. At present, however, we are running up against the fact that differences in views and opinions sometimes lead to an infringement of citizens' legal rights and provoke flagrant violations of socialist legality. So is the mechanism which ensures protection for our rights and guards against abuse a reliable one?

Answer: As you well know, any difference of opinion which is discussed in conditions of high culture and mutual respect leads to a harmony of ideas. Not without reason does the old adage say that truth is born of dispute. But, when emotion prevails over reason in these disputes, the kind of situation can arise which runs counter to our socialist principles.

Whenever an action comes into conflict with the law, there can be no talk of any democracy. Disturbances are a flagrant violation of the public order which is protected by the law. But we have a reliable mechanism at our disposal which fully guarantees protection for citizens' rights and legal interests and guards against any abuse. We firmly adhere to the belief that disturbances must be countered by the all-conquering might of Soviet laws.

Question: What kind of sanctions are stipulated by law for outrages [beschinstva] such as those committed in Sumgait? Can you say something about the progress of the investigation into the Sumgait events?

Answer: There were massive disturbances in the city of Sumgait, accompanied by pogroms, arson attacks, and other outrages. In view of the great danger posed to the public by these actions, legislators rank them in the category of state crimes, which carry a heavy penalty. But during these disturbances hooligan elements also committed murder, for which the law stipulates even harsher measures.

The events in Sumgait are currently under investigation by an investigative group from the USSR Prosecutor's Office. A number of active participants in the disturbances have been arrested. Measures are being taken to fully expose the crimes and identify all the people involved.

What can I say about the motives behind these terrible crimes? They were committed by young people, including minors, who, on the basis of groundless rumors, yielded to passions stirred up by outsiders [so storony], became uncontrollable, and, incited by hooligan elements who joined their ranks, committed the most serious crimes.

Major shortcomings in educational work with young people could be felt here in all their magnitude. After all, young people are our future, and concern for their proper development is a decisive factor in the moral health of society. It is a well-known fact that Sumgait is one of the most multiethnic cities in the country. But the presence of many different ethnic groups is not in itself evidence of internationalism. If we do not cultivate a feeling of interethnic friendship and fraternity in young people, this becomes an abstract concept.

Not for a moment do I doubt the fraternal friendship which has existed between the Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples for many centuries and which was apparent in all its greatness during the events in Sumgait, when there was more than one example of Azerbaijanis rising to the defense of their Armenian brothers and sisters whom hooligan elements were trying to attack.

Question: New criminal legislation is now being drawn up. Will it take into account the processes new to our society?

Answer: The task of further improving Soviet laws was set by the 27th CPSU Congress. "Our legislation," it was stated in the report to the 27th congress, "must contribute even more actively to the introduction of economic management methods, effective monitoring of the measure of labor and consumption, and the implementation of the principles of justice." In light of this, Soviet legislation—including criminal legislation—is currently being developed as a whole. There have recently been considerable, positive changes in legislation, although they are insufficient for the achievement of its strategic aim, namely, to provide the legislative backing for the economic and social development of our society in the conditions of restructuring.

The development of criminal legislation is moving in the direction of its further democratization and humanization. We believe that the fight against crime in our conditions does not mean the suppression of a person but is based on the task of morally restoring the character of the transgressor. However, this does not mean that we intend to slacken our fight against crime, especially against its dangerous forms. Improvement in criminal legislation aims to ensure that it is assertive in the fight against crime and that Soviet people feel confident that their peace and inviolability and the interests of society are reliably protected by the state.

Economic

Regulation 'Potential Threat' to Cooperatives

PM251001 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Mar 88 Second Edition pp 1,2

[Article by Academician Ye. Primakov under the rubric "Perusing the Draft Law": "The Economy and the Cooperative System"—boldface as published]

[Text] The press has published and submitted for nationwide discussion the draft Law "On the Cooperative System in the USSR." The strongest aspect of the draft law is its affirmation of the growing role played by the cooperative system in the development of socialism. Under the administrative- and command-based economic model this role was either negated for practical purposes or reduced to a purely secondary, auxilliary status. In so doing the theoretical conclusion was even drawn that it was necessary to gradually scale down cooperative ownership and establish uniformity in the shape of state ownership, which allegedly alone determines the face of socialism. Naturally, given such an approach, the cooperative system was in practice subject to rigid, stifling regulation, and this checked its development. Even the production cooperation system as exemplified by the kolkhoz lost its economic independence in many respects, was shorn of its cooperative nature, and was transformed into a kind of state enterprise.

The draft law today enshrines two principles that determine the position of the cooperative system in our social structure: its equality vis-a-vis the state sector and its economic independence, which is of a special cooperative nature.

The preparation for and adoption of the Law on the Cooperative System forms part of a general desire to revive the Leninist aspect of socialism, the Leninist concept of rule by the people, and a Leninist style of party leadership. This movement began—and this must be made absolutely clear—with the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum. The consistency of this movement is obvious in this instance: The degree of economic independence enshrined in the draft Law on the Cooperative System was inconceivable prior to the Law on the State Enterprise, which defined the concepts of independence, self-capitalization, and self-financing in the sphere of state ownership. This law undoubtedly served as the prelude to the drafting of the fundamentals of cooperative legislation.

A resolute rejection of customary but wrong notions of socialism and of dogmas which have absolutely nothing in common with it is making arduous, difficult progress. It must be acknowledged that voices questioning whether resolute, large-scale development of the cooperative system alongside the state sector is compatible with socialism are heard today. However, Karl Marx, the founder of scientific socialism, regarded the cooperative system as a new means of production as compared with capitalism. After the victory of the Great October Revolution and the abandonment of the War Communism imposed during the Civil War V.I. Lenin made a direct link between the New Economic Policy and the need for extensive development of the cooperative system, which he considered to be the highroad to socialism.

Cooperative forms of activity presently form an integral part of the economic life of the overwhelming majority of countries, both socialist and capitalist. The cooperative system enjoys considerable benefits and state support in all countries, without exception. As far as capitalist countries are concerned, the cooperative movement has assumed a particularly large scale in those where social democrats have enjoyed a long term of office—in Sweden, for example. This has been dictated by the interests of both economic and social development. But it is in the countries of socialism that the cooperative system fully reveals its socialist content.

We need to return to the argument used by V.I. Lenin in his work "The Cooperative System," an argument which is also highly relevant today. He warned against underestimating and undervaluing the fact that the cooperative system in Soviet Russia was designed to be developed in conditions of working class rule and state ownership of land and the other major means of production. "They forget," Lenin wrote, "that the cooperative system assumes in our country, thanks to the nature of our state system, a quite exceptional importance... The cooperative system in our conditions is nearly always wholly identical with socialism" (Complete Works, Vol 45, p 375). Forgetting this today, when socialism's position is incomparably stronger and more reliable than it was 65 years ago at the time when Lenin's work "The Cooperative System" was written, is even more inadmissible.

The absence of private ownership of the means of production in our country also guarantees against cooperatives, even if they begin as socialist ones, developing in such a way that they can lead to the genesis of entrepreneurial forms of a capitalist nature. From its very inception the cooperative system has been organized in our country in conditions where cooperatives receive from the state the basic means of production—land, buildings, costly machinery. As the cooperative system develops and cooperative unions are set up they are able to acquire and maintain expensive means of production (save, of course, land and other natural resources). But in this instance the ownership of the means of production will be manifestly **collective** rather than private in nature, that is to say, will be ownership by an association of cooperatives.

Of course, the implementation of cooperative self-management and the principle of economic independence will, let us be blunt about this, contribute much that is new. In fact the cooperative system, like individual ownership, leads to intensification of the market and commodity-money relations. More free price-fixing and a closer link between cooperative members' individual incomes and the profitability of their enterprises are all inevitable concomitants of the market. But does this lead to social justice?

It obviously must be bluntly said that wage-leveling can represent the greatest social injustice. The cooperative form of economic activity—and this idea is stressed in the draft law—proposes the mandatory participation by cooperative members in all collective labor. It is for this that they receive their part of the income. If you are talking about price manipulation as a source of extra income for cooperative members, then as competition develops (and the more cooperative members there are, the stronger competition between them will become, as indeed it will between them and state enterprises operating in the same sphere) it will limit the opportunity to obtain extra income through price increases. A concern for social justice that is real, not bogus, is also successfully resolved by the law in the clause on progressive taxation. Incidentally—and this is chiefly for cooperative members' information—progressive taxation exists in all developed capitalist countries, and concealment of income entails very serious sanctions.

Why, however, has the need to extensively develop cooperative activity been raised so keenly precisely now, during the process of restructuring? After all, it is clearly not just a desire from a theoretical standpoint to cleanse these socialist forms of management of the thick layer of dogmatic, non-Leninist ideas that have built up in past years. There is a clearly expressed **practical** interest in developing the cooperative system, which is amenable to various forms of state support and aid that are discussed in the draft law.

First, the development of the cooperative system presupposes above all a stepping up of direct links between production and the consumer in the spheres of agriculture, light industry, services, and trade. These spheres are of key significance for national prosperity, and it is precisely here that the forms of major industry based on state ownership have revealed a low level of efficiency. World experience shows the great importance of small and medium-sized forms of production in the sphere of direct satisfaction of the population's needs for products, goods, and services. The excessive centralization and concentration of production in these spheres in our country still runs contrary to this experience. The development of the cooperative system is precisely designed to rectify this situation by introducing the most suitable forms available and incorporating small and medium-sized production within the structure of our economy.

Here the special significance of the cooperative system for our time lies in the fact that, now that the masses' social expectations are increasing as a result of restructuring, the party has set the task of pinpointing those problems whose solution will yield a positive result in the very near future. This is the only way to release the socioeconomic brake for those restructuring measures in the economy which, because of their deep nature, take time to yield a return. The cooperative system not only can but must be regarded here as a direct and very important means of enhancing national prosperity and as a lever helping to carry out the radical restructuring of the whole economic mechanism. An effective struggle against the distortions of the underground economy, speculation, and the monopoly position of both state enterprises and also quite often clandestine businesses is possible while developing the cooperative system.

Second, the development of the cooperative system is one of the real forms of the link between the producer and the socialist ownership of the means of production. The nationwide nature of state ownership perceived in the abstract, without any measures aimed at ensuring the economic independence of state enterprises and democratizing their management, does not sufficiently involve the producer in the ownership of the means of production. Measures aimed at decisively altering this situation are now being carried out in relation to state enterprises. In cooperatives, however, the direct link between the producer and the means of production is sustained from the very outset. Given this, the development of the cooperative movement will promote further progress in democratizing the state sector, including economic accountability and self-financing, and not just state enterprises but kolkhozes too.

Third, by defining the economic, organizational, and legal principles for the functioning of all kinds of cooperatives the law is of paramount significance for the development of the production cooperative system, which is chiefly represented by kolkhozes and cooperatives producing and selling consumer goods. This clearly requires special mention, since the layperson could form a mistaken impression of the aim of the law. Here one cannot help recalling one of V.I. Lenin's final interviews, one he gave to a correspondent of the MANCHESTER GUARDIAN, who, after seeing the flourishing "buying and selling" in the streets of Moscow came to the conclusion that production under the New Economic Policy "was possible only in very rare cases." V.I. Lenin expressed his surprise: "But how, then, I thought: What about the millions and millions of Russian peasants?" (Vol 45, p 260). It is quite clear that trade is impossible without producing what is traded.

Under the conditions in our country bureaucratization and the loss of economic independence pose a big danger to the cooperative system. This has been fully shown in kolkhoz construction. The law develops and strengthens cooperative principles in kolkhozes. On the one hand, the development of the team and family contract is required to play a large role here. On the other, kolkhozes receive under the law extensive rights to engage unrestrictedly in other kinds of economic activity which are not at variance with legislation either on their own or in various forms of cooperation with other cooperative and state enterprises and organizations. The law also envisages setting up in rural localities other cooperative organizations producing and processing agricultural products and jointly managing personal subsidiary plots—small-scale industrial, supply and sales, credit, construction, and other organizations. Kolkhoz members and sovkhoz workers themselves may participate in them. This represents a fundamentally new approach to production sharing in the sphere of agricultural production and opens up the possibility of more quickly developing our country's food potential.

Fourth, it is envisaged that cooperative unions will be set up, thereby enabling various sectors of the economy to be effectively embraced without sacrificing the fundamental virtues of the "cooperative system"—its democratic principle regarding the actual cooperative member.

Here the principle of democracy and self-management for all levels of cooperative organization proclaimed by and guaranteed under the law is of special significance. It means that elected organs carry out the tasks assigned them by cooperatives. That is why it is so important that the law should unambiguously lay down that "Interference in the economic or other activity of a cooperative by state or higher cooperative organs is impermissible, save where envisaged under the law."

Any legislation that gives scope for developments that are already gathering pace in the life of society is good and valid. The cooperative movement is energetically gaining ground, overcoming the numerous barriers that still persist. The law is designed to open the doors wide to it. You cannot help therefore noticing those places in the draft where the desire for excessive regulation of cooperatives' activity—in the area of control of prices, normatives, and plans—creeps in. Herein lies a potential threat, since competition in the cooperative sector only attains its goal when it can develop without excessive regulation. I think the relationship between the development of individual labor and cooperative activity should be reexamined in the law. Disquiet that the law does not fully safeguard against the continuation of the practice of issuing commands to kolkhozes is rightly shown in the article "The Countryside Is Tired of Being Commanded," published in PRAVDA. And here, without an appropriate interpretation of the concept of state order, a real contradiction with the principles of the economic autonomy of the kolkhoz and the other kinds of cooperative set-up could arise in the agroindustrial complex.

One more thing. The leading role of the Communist Party and the significance of social organizations in all spheres of our life are common, constitutionally-enshrined political principles. But precisely because of their common nature, they are indivisible. To repeat these principles unaltered vis-a-vis the activity of a cooperative, workshop, cafe, or consumer service studio does not seem sensible.

We stand on the threshold of a great event in our society's development—the adoption of a law that the socialist cooperative system needs to grow rapidly.

Agricultural

Further Reportage on Collective Farmers Meeting

Kukhar Addresses Congress

PM251253 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 24 Mar 88 pp 4-6

[Unattributed report on address delivered by I.I. Kukhar, Union Council of Kolkhozes chairman, at 23 March morning session of Fourth All-Union Congress of Collective Farmers: "On the Acceleration of Kolkhozes' Socioeconomic Development Under the New Conditions of Economic Administration and the Democratization of Management. Draft Law on Cooperatives in the USSR and Changes to the Model Kolkhoz Charter"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Comrade deputies! As you know, the draft Law on Cooperatives in the USSR was published this month. Kolkhozes are the dominant form of cooperative. That is why at our congress it is entirely natural, on behalf of the many millions-strong kolkhoz peasantry, to express our attitude toward the draft of this normative act so important and necessary to us.

The draft law was elaborated on the basis of Lenin's ideas about the cooperatives and it takes into account the present stage of development of the country's production forces and the experience of kolkhoz building, consumer cooperatives, and other cooperatives. It has reflected everything new which has appeared in Soviet society in the past 3 years: the development of democracy, glasnost, and the implementation of radical economic reform.

The highlighting in a separate section of the distinguishing features of kolkhozes and other types of agricultural cooperatives confirms the great importance of the kolkhoz sector of the economy in the country's national economy. The law directs us toward the all-around development of kolkhozes as the dominant form of cooperative and promotes a correct understanding of their economic, social, and political importance.

The draft stresses that kolkhoz cooperative ownership has far from exhausted its potential and that it is in socialist production that the kolkhozes' role and place in the system of the agro-industrial complex is determined, it points to the features of the application of the new economic mechanism to kolkhozes, and increases farms' responsibility for the use of land and the conservation of its fertility.

The new draft law provides kolkhozes with the right to engage, alongside agriculture, in any other types of activity not forbidden by legislation, including activity beyond kolkhoz territory. They are also given the right to choose for themselves the forms for the organization and payment of labor, to actively develop cooperative relations within the kolkhoz, to rent land, equipment, and other means of production to primary cooperatives within the farm, to allow these cooperatives to sell output independently, and to open accounts in banks or financial and accounting centers. The sensible use of these rights will increase the degree of economic accountability [khozraschetnost] and responsibility not only of kolkhozes but also of their subdivisions within the farm.

We wholly support these proposals because they open up broad scope for the development of all types of cooperatives, make it possible to ensure economic independence for kolkhozes, will strengthen the guarantees of their rights, and will protect them against unlawful interference in their production and economic activity.

The draft law also defines the system of the kolkhozes' elected representative organs and enshrines the point that an all-union congress of collective farmers is convened at least once every 5 years. A number of other legislative norms of importance to kolkhozes are also set out.

The Union Council of Kolkhozes on 20 March this year examined the draft Law "On Cooperatives in the USSR" and is making proposals to the congress that it be approved in general.

At the same time the members of the Union Council expressed wishes that during the final working of the draft law there should be a more precise and unambiguous formulation of articles concerning the kolkhozes. A very great many notes have been made which could be interpreted broadly and there are certain discrepancies between articles. I shall dwell on two examples. For instance, we understand the importance of and the need for state control. But the note made in Article 27, point 4 in fact gives all state organs without exception the right to check us in all avenues of economic activity under the guise of monitoring the observance of financial discipline. That's an end to any autonomy.

In our opinion it is also necessary to define more broadly the rights of the Union Council of Kolkhozes so that it can represent and defend more fully the kolkhozes' interests in state organs and public organizations.

As a whole the draft complies with the set goals and the adoption of the Law on Cooperatives in the USSR marks the start of a new stage in the development of the cooperative movement in the country, will lend new impetus to kolkhoz building, will open up broad scope for the development of enterprise and self-administration, and will enhance kolkhoz members' responsibility for the results of their work.

Comrades! Allow me now to report on the draft Model Charter.

The changes and additions to the Model Charter were prepared by a special commission created by the Union Council of Kolkhozes. It was discussed widely and actively at meetings in kolkhozes, at conferences and republican congresses of kolkhoz members, in the press, and on radio and television. Scientific conferences have also been held.

What is the thrust of the changes made to the Model Kolkhoz Charter?

First, the proposed draft charter enshrines the new conditions and methods of economic management, expands the kolkhozes' independence, and opens up scope for its [as published] labor collective to display initiative and enterprise. Figuratively speaking, it has clearly reflected the radical economic reform under way in the country and democratization and glasnost.

In accordance with the principle of socialist economic management it is pointed out that the kolkhoz pursues its activity on the basis of full economic accountability [khozyaystvennyy raschet] and self-financing. It elaborates and approves plans independently and defines an expedient structure for production and its volume. In particular broad opportunities are provided for the creation of industrial production facilities both within the kolkhoz and on the basis of agro-industrial integration with enterprises of the processing industries.

Kolkhozes have been granted the right to make broad use of commodity-money relations and to set independently the prices for output sold on the market to consumer cooperative enterprises and organizations except for output sold under a state order.

A completely new legal norm has been introduced enabling the kolkhoz to enlist the population's money to make capital investments in the development of production and the social infrastructure with the relevant revenue being made by a decision of a general meeting of kolkhoz members.

These and other norms introduced to the charter will undoubtedly consolidate the kolkhozes' economic autonomy and at the same time enhance their responsibility for fulfilling their duties to consumers.

Second, a number of substantial additions have been made to the charter aimed at deepening and further developing kolkhoz democracy, as the age of restructuring requires. We have endeavored to transfer the slogan of restructuring—as much democracy as possible, as much socialism as possible—to the charter's practical articles. Above all the role of kolkhoz members' general meetings is being enhanced and the range of questions which are their exclusive prerogative is expanded. Alongside electing the organs of management and elaborating the charter the general meeting of kolkhoz members' exclusive preserve includes: the approval of 5-year and annual plans and reports on the year's results, the establishment of the procedure for economically accountable [khozraschetnyy] relations and terms for labor incentives, the determining of measures to improve kolkhoz members' labor and daily living conditions, the solution of the question of the kolkhoz's participation in agro-industrial associations, agricultural firms, and agricultural combines, the definition of the dimensions of household plots and the norms for keeping livestock on kolkhoz members' personal subsidiary farms, the examination of labor disputes between contracting labor collectives and the kolkhoz board, and others.

Unfortunately, it must be frankly admitted today that the role of kolkhoz members' general meetings has often been belittled in our country, they are convened only irregularly, are badly prepared, and take place without proper activeness on the part of the participants. On many kolkhozes general meetings are unjustifiably replaced by a narrow circle of authorized delegates [upolnomochennyye].

The draft charter stipulates that a general meeting should be held at least once a quarter and on big farms the norms for authorized delegates' representation should be such as to involve the largest possible number of kolkhoz members in management.

Special emphasis has been placed on improving self-administration in the collectives of production subdivisions where the fate of the kolkhoz may be said to be decided. Broad rights have been defined for meetings of kolkhoz subdivisions on planning and executing economically accountable tasks, building up and enhancing the efficiency of the contract, ensuring the safekeeping of public property, and other questions of the life and activity of the subdivision collective. It was pointed out that a meeting of team or stock raising unit kolkhoz members is convened at least once a month.

The third group of questions is aimed at improving labor relations on the kolkhoz. The Model Charter continues the line toward the further consolidation and development of the kolkhoz members' social rights and duties. The main thing in this section is to enhance the kolkhoz members' labor activity through interests and incentives and to eliminate dependence and extravagance in consumption.

The charter stipulates that the forms of organizing production and labor are established and used by the kolkhoz depending on the farm's specific conditions. The kolkhoz can at its discretion use the collective contract as the basic form of organizing and encouraging labor and can also make extensive use of the family, individual, and rental forms of contract, can use the remuneration of labor from the gross income, and other types of incentives. It has been pointed out that the level of payment of labor is directly dependent on end results.

The Model Charter's enshrining of the kolkhoz's broad rights to choose various forms of internal economic accountability and the collective, family, rental, and personal contract and its independent solution of all questions relating to the payment of labor is of great social importance inasmuch as it signifies the expansion of the rights of the kolkhoz members themselves and the opportunity for material incentive terms to accord most fully with the interests both of the farm as a whole and of each of its workers. Guarantees of the realization of these rights are reinforced by the deepening of contract relations between labor collectives, individual people, and the kolkhoz board and by the raising of responsibility for the fulfillment of the commitments which have been made. The contract nature of economically accountable relations within farms is also enshrined in the draft.

A number of additions have also been submitted aimed at strengthening labor discipline. Measures of disciplinary and material responsibility are envisaged for absenteeism, for turning up drunk at work, and for the damage thus caused to the kolkhoz.

The congress delegates know of numerous instances of bad manageme, extravagance, and a negligent attitude toward socialist property on the part of individual kolkhoz members, including leaders and specialists. That is why it is just that the Model Charter should enshrine the rules and norms for kolkhoz members to make good to the public economy the material damage for which they are to blame. Under the conditions of self-recoupment and self-financing, the realization of the kolkhoz's right to the restitution of the material damage caused to it is of particularly great economic and educational significance.

In the kolkhoz self-administration system an important role belongs to the auditing commissions. But on many farms they are operating only feebly and are limiting themselves to carrying out only individual checks and have a passive attitude toward instance of bad management and violations of the charter. Often the kolkhoz boards and their chairmen also fail to react properly to their demands and proposals.

At the present stage, under the conditions of democratization and glasnost, life itself dictates the need to step up control "from below," to activate the work of the auditing commissions, and to consolidate the composition of their representatives. We must also give leading workers and social production veterans broader access to monitoring the activity of the kolkhoz board and officials. On this plane we are also counting on more effective aid to kolkhoz inspectors from the agro-industrial administration organs.

During the discussion of the model charter remarks and proposals have been made. Many of them have been resolved in the published draft of the Law on Cooperatives in the USSR and, of course, they are exhausted. I consider it necessary to report to you on some of the comments.

A proposal has come in for a clearer definition of the procedure for withdrawing from membership of a kolkhoz. A correct proposal. It is proposed that point 7 of the second section of the charter be supplemented by the following note: "The kolkhoz board and general meeting of kolkhoz members do not have the right to refuse a kolkhoz member's request to leave the kolkhoz."

During the discussion of the draft Model Charter many kolkhoz leaders and specialists, particularly scientists, made proposals to restore the principle of kolkhoz's free use of land. This principle was also discussed quite keenly and at length in our commission. We weighed all aspects of the question. The majority of us reached the conviction that under the conditions of the implementation of radical economic reform, when resources must be paid for and used efficiently the free use of land does not accord with the spirit of the time.

In addition I reported to you that a number of farms in past years have made inefficient use of land and have not been concerned to preserve its fertility. This disrespectful attitude toward the land was also shaped by the fact that it was free of charge. That is why we stick to our position, that is, that the exclusion of the words "free of charge" from the charter was correct.

Comrades! The kolkhoz councils are called on to develop kolkhozes and step up the democratization of their economic life. The meetings, conferences, and republican congresses of kolkhoz members which have been held have pointed to the need to improve their activity. The question has been put correctly.

Many kolkhoz councils and particularly rayon councils are still not fulfilling the functions entrusted to them, are representing and defending kolkhozes' rights and legitimate interests only feebly, and do not always react promptly to violations of kolkhoz democracy and the charter.

In some places even the rayon agro-industrial associations, instead of rendering effective aid to kolkhoz councils in the organization of their work, usurp them, which cannot be deemed correct. It is therefore essential to animate and activate the work of kolkhoz councils everywhere, to drastically increase their influence on kolkhoz life, and to make them the true expressers of the interests of kolkhozes and kolkhoz members.

In this connection we should also revise the provisions on kolkhoz councils and invest them with real rights, just as we should increase their responsibility for kolkhoz affairs.

Comrade delegates! In concluding my report I want to remind you that we have gathered for our congress at a very interesting time. A restructuring of all spheres of public life unprecedented in scale and global in significance has been launched in the country under the leadership of the party and its Central Committee. The role of the kolkhozes in this restructuring is great. Our main task is to achieve the steady, dynamic buildup of production, to increase the tempo of growth and improve the quality of output, and to ensure the fullest satisfaction of Soviet people's food requirements.

Allow me on your behalf and on behalf of the entire many millions-strong kolkhoz peasantry to assure the party Central Committee and the Soviet Government that we are profoundly aware of all the importance of the tasks facing us and will do everything to resolve them very rapidly.

24 Mar Proceedings Detailed

PM281017 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 25 Mar 88 p 1

[Unattributed "Information Report on the Work of the Fourth All-Union Congress of Collective Farmers"]

[Text] The Fourth All-union Congress of Collective Farmers continued work in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses 24 March.

The speakers in the debates during the morning session on the report on the acceleration of kolkhozes' socioeconomic development under the new conditions of economic management and the democratization of management and on the draft Law on the Cooperative System in the USSR and the changes to kolkhozes' Model Charter were: Hero of Socialist Labor A.E. Kauls, chairman of the "Adazha" Kolkhoz Agricultural Firm in the Latvian SSR's Rizhskiy Rayon; A.M. Zgonnikov, team leader of a corn growing unit at the "Kazminskiy" Kolkhoz in Stavropol Kray's Kochubeyevskiy Rayon; Hero of Socialist Labor G.A. Tsitlidze, chairman of the "Natakabi" Kolkhoz Agricultural Firm in the Georgian SSR's Makharadzevskiy Rayon; I.A. Vasilyev, writer and Lenin Prize winner; Ya.A. Yakovlev, chairman of the "Put k kommunizmu" Kolkhoz in Kalinin Oblast's Torzhokskiy Rayon; Hero of Socialist Labor V.I. Krivorotov, chairman of the "Rossiya" Kolkhoz in the Crimean Oblast's Krasnogvardeyskiy Rayon; V.F. Popov, chairman of the "Rossiya" Kolkhoz in Volgograd Oblast's Kalachevskiy Rayon; S.K. Azhikulov, chairman of the K. Marx Kolkhoz in Osh Oblast's Kara-Suyskiy Rayon; Yu.S. Bubnel, pork machine operator at the Dzerzhinskiy Kolkhoz in the Lithuanian SSR's Vilnyusskiy Rayon; Hero of Socialist Labor A.I. Dubko, chairman of the "Progress" Kolkhoz in Grodno Oblast's Grodnenskiy Rayon; Ch.O. Babayev, chairman of the Kolkhoz named for the 26 Baku Commissars in the Azerbaijan SSR's Dzhebrailskiy Rayon; and Y.A. Reyneberg, chief agronomist at the "Viru" Kolkhoz in the Estonian SSR's Rakvereskiy Rayon.

The discussion on the report continued at the evening session. The speakers in the debates were: S. Sadridinov, chairman of the "Kommunizm" Kolkhoz in the Tajik SSR's Ordzhonikidzeabadskiy Rayon; V.S. Murakhovskiy, USSR Council of Ministers first deputy chairman and USSR Gosagroprom chairman; V.V. Burduzhan, chairman of the "Pogranichnik" Kolkhoz in the Moldavian SSR's Brichanskiy Rayon; A.A. Zavgorodniy, chairman of the "Za mir i trud" Kolkhoz in Krasnodar Kray's Pavlovskiy Rayon; B.A. Zinchenko, Lenin Kolkhoz chairman in Rostov Oblast's Zernogradskiy Rayon; L.P. Veranyan, "Put kommunizma" Kolkhoz chairman in the Armenian SSR's Kalininskiy Rayon; and Hero of Socialist Labor M. Sopyyev, "Sovet Turkmenistany" Kolkhoz chairman in Ashkhabad Oblast's Gyaurskiy Rayon.

The congress welcomed I. Szabo, MSZMP Central Committee Politburo member and Hungarian National Council of Agricultural Production Cooperatives chairman; Luis Gonzalez Acosta, first vice president of Cuba's National Association of Small Farmers; H. Haavisto, chairman of the Finnish Central Union of Agricultural Producers; and S. Gungaadorj, deputy chairman of the Mongolian Council of Ministers and Mongolian minister of agriculture and the food industry, who were warmly greeted by the delegates. The congress continues 25 March.

Kukhar Elected Chairman

LD251936 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 25 Mar 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The first session of the Union Council of Kolkhozes, at which Ivan Ivanovich Kukhar, chairman of the Vladimir Ilich Kolkhoz in Leninskiy Rayon, Moscow Oblast, and twice Hero of Socialist Labor, was elected chairman, was held today.

Congress Adopts Resolution

LD251728 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1230 GMT 25 Mar 88

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The Fourth All-Union Congress of Collective Farmers ended its work in Moscow today. Congress delegates and guests greeted with applause Comrades Gorbachev, Vorotnikov, Gromyko, Zaykov, Ligachev, Nikonov, Ryzhkov, Slyunkov, Solomentsev, Shevardnadze, Shcherbitskiy, Yakovlev, Demichev, Dolgikh, Maslyukov, Razumovskiy, Solovyev, Talyzin, Baklanov, Biryukova, Lukyanov, and Medvedev.

A total of 41 people spoke at the congress on the issues under discussion. The debates ended after this.

The congress adopted a resolution on speeding up the socioeconomic development of kolkhozes in the new conditions of economic management and democratization of management; a decision on the USSR draft Law on Cooperatives in the USSR and amendments to the Model Kolkhoz Charter. The delegates unanimously elected the Union of the Council of Kolkhozes. The congress then ended its work.

News Conference

LD251849 Moscow TASS in English 1810 GMT 25 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 25 TASS—The extensive development of all forms of cooperation in agriculture is one of the principal ways of implementing the USSR's food programme, such was the view of the delegates to the 4th All-Union Congress of Collective Farmers that ended in Moscow today.

Farmers came to the Soviet Foreign Ministry Press Centre today to answer questions from Soviet and foreign journalists.

The principal task of the congress was to work out the tactics and strategy of developing collective farms (agrarian cooperatives) which account for over 47 per cent of the country's agricultural output.

"The future of collective farms which engage more than 12.5 million people is in promoting cooperation within each farm," the new conference was told by Soviet Minister Aleksandr Iyevlev, first deputy chairman of the State Agro-Industrial Committee of the USSR.

The minister drew attention to the establishment of new forms of cooperation in various regions of the Soviet Union when "teams and even individual farmers and their families conclude contracts with the farm."

He explained that "in this case, the well-being of farmers will directly depend on the efficiency of their work and the end result of the entire farm.

"The collective farmer will feel that he is really the master of the land."

Professor Mikhail Kozyr, an authority on agricultural law, told newsmen that the perestroyka, or restructuring, drive in agriculture "provides for the perfection of legal standards regulating relations between collective farms and the state, on the one hand, and between individual cooperators, on the other."

The researcher observed that legislative restrictions hindering the development of contract-based relations would be removed. Rules on the order of leasing land to teams, families and individuals would be altered too.

Broad powers were being granted to collective farms in establishing direct contacts with foreign partners, it was observed at the news conference.

Mutually beneficial ties already existed with some agricultural cooperatives in socialist countries, talks were under way on establishing cooperation with Western companies.

The Ukrainian collective farm "Zarya Kommunizma", for instance, was about to conclude an agreement on the joint production of hybrid corn seeds with an Austrian subsidiary of the American Pioneer firm.

The congress also discussed two drafts to form the basis of restructuring in the countryside: the Law on Cooperative Societies and the Model Statute of Collective Farms.

"These drafts comprised suggestions made by delegates with a view to further democratising the life of collective farms and ridding them of excessive patronage on the part of administrative bodies," said the chairman of the All-Union Council of Collective Farms, Ivan Kukhar.

"The heads of agricultural cooperatives are given broad powers in organising and developing production.

"Increase of agricultural output on the basis of independence, self-financing and self-repayment is becoming the chief criterion of the efficiency of farms' performance." All 26,500 collective farms in the USSR, of which 2,500 are so far unprofitable, will embrace principles of profit-and-loss accounting in the next year.

"Soviet collective farms proved their viability in more than 60 years of their existence, but far from exhausted all possibilities for developing cooperation under socialism.

"This was convincingly demonstrated by the 4th all-union congress of collective farmers that closed here today," Iyevlev said.

Media Report 15-23 Mar Agricultural Developments

LD240557 [Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian, unless otherwise indicated, on 15-23 March. GMT times of broadcasts are given in parentheses at the end of each item.

15 March

The mass sowing of spring crops began today, almost 10 days earlier than usual, in the steppe regions of Azerbaijan. (1400)

Sowing began today in North Ossetiya. (1400)

16 March

Two thousand tractors are still waiting to be overhauled in time for the spring sowing in Kurgan Oblast because of a delay in supplying spare parts. About one-tenth of seeding machines and cultivators and almost as many as plows have not been made ready. (0500)

17 March

The laboratory of hard spring wheats of the Saratov Plant Breeding Center of the (Elita-Povolzhye) scientific and production association has produced a new variety of hard spring wheat called Saratovskaya-57. The new variety has a high-quality gluten content, is fast-ripening, and is also practically resistant to loose [word indistinct]. It has been decided to carry out regional tests of the new variety this year in Saratov Oblast. (0340)

18 March

No fileworthy items monitored.

19 March

Crimea: spring field work has begun. In the steppes and foothill regions the soil has dried out and warmed up. Barley, oats, and fodder mixtures are being sown. In those places where early spring crops have already been sown, the soil is being readied for corn and sunflower. The vines are being pruned. (0300)

The sowing of spring cereal crops has started in Dzhambul Oblast. An area of 160,000 hectares will be used for oats alone. Wheat, corn, and vegetables will mainly be planted here, as always. (1400)

Farms of Stavropol Kray have started working in the fields. (1400)

20 March

No fileworthy items monitored.

21 March

Sowing is usually under way at this time in Kazakhstan. This year, however, it is still snowing in the Alma-Ata, Dzhambul, and Virgin Soil [as heard] Oblasts. Plowing continues since snow promises a good harvest. The plan of plowing 32 million hectares under snow has been fulfilled. (1400)

22, 23 March

No fileworthy items monitored.

Scientific

Academician Pokrovskiy Discusses AIDS Origins

LD271413 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 27 Mar 88

[Interview with Valentin Ivanovich Pokrovskiy, president of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences and director of the Central Epidemiology Research Institute, by correspondent Leonid Lazarevich; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Lazarevich] Valentin Ivanovich, in the past 6 months a great many contradictory reports have appeared in the Soviet press, generally quoting Western information sources. My question is: What do scientists think is the origin of AIDS? Two versions have been put forward: one, that it was created artificially in a laboratory, and the other, that the AIDS virus came from macaque monkeys, from green monkeys.

[Pokrovskiy] The question of the origin of the AIDS virus is now being studied by a great many scientists—not, however, from the viewpoint of whether the origin was artificial or natural, but from the single viewpoint of how the natural virus which circulates in nature evolved into the highly pathogenic version of the virus which gives rise to the illness called Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome. At the present time there is an increasing amount of information pointing to the fact that there are various types of retroviruses which give rise to the disease of immune deficiency syndrome, not only in people but in animals as well. One of the sensational stories that swept the world was AIDS among cats, and the Japanese, followed by many other researchers, actually did identify a virus which causes immune deficiency in certain animals. There was a great deal of alarm, war was almost declared on cats, but I must immediately assure all the listeners that the virus which causes immune deficiency in man presents no danger to animals, and similarly, none of the immune deficiency viruses carried by animals presents any danger to man. A retrovirus has now been discovered in people which is genetically very similar to a retrovirus in green monkeys, but the monkey virus cannot cause any illness in man. At some stage in the development of the world, the microcosm, there took place an evolution in these retroviruses whereby they began to split up into different types which adapted themselves to various biological subjects: some to cats, some to dogs, some to monkeys, and others to man. This indicates that the virus is in fact of natural origin. No Soviet scientist anywhere or at any time has expressed the view that the virus is of artificial origin, that it originated under laboratory conditions.

[Lazarevich] From time to time reports appear that we are on the threshold of finding a vaccine against AIDS—very varied reports that come from our country and abroad. What can you say about that?

[Pokrovksiy] I am skeptical. The thing is, I think, that a vaccine against AIDS must be created on principles which are completely different from all the other vaccines which exist at present. All the vaccines existing now are basically aimed at developing antibodies in the person without giving rise to the disease. It is the presence of those antibodies which prevents the disease. Let's now take a look at what happens when there is an infection caused by HIV. HIV stands for human immune virus. There are antibodies, but the virus, after a long incubation period, still causes illness. In other words, other mechanisms come into play here. So using a vaccine in the classical form that we picture today may be not only useful but may also be harmful.

The second very important thing is that the appearance of a large number of candidate vaccines, so to speak, is very dangerous. Why dangerous? I have already said that there are no animals in nature which could be made to contract the illness. So ultimately the testing of all those preparations should be carried out on people, and as you can imagine, this gives rise to enormous ethical problems. Even after a candidate vaccine has appeared, I think that it will be several years, no less than 4 to 7 years, before we can finally say whether it is effective or not.

I think that we can achieve success in the fight against AIDS by pursuing two courses. First, something that is already now quite effective, which is raising the moral level of the country, the world, and mankind. That means cultured sexual behavior among people—if that word can be used from a medical standpoint. It means using preventive measures including condoms; it means reducing the number of one's sexual partners as much as possible; it means raising the level of morality; and it's something that is already working now. Suffice it to say that the rate of contraction of venereal disease in the United States in 1987 was five times lower than in previous years because people are afraid of AIDS and have begun to be more careful.

And, second, I think that we will obtain a medicine that we can use to treat AIDS patients, and perhaps even treat the carriers of the virus, and thus destroy the virus, especially as we now already have a whole group of preparations which have an effect on the virus.

[Lazarevich] Valentin Ivanovich, the number of people registered in our country as having contracted the disease is very small. There are about 50 people who are virus carriers, infected people.

[Pokrovskiy] In our country there is one person who has the disease, just one. We did have three foreigners who died of AIDS. As to the Soviet citizen, a translator who became infected in Tanzania, it is now over a year since his illness was diagnosed and his treatment started. He is on one of the floors below us in this building, in one of the wards. His illness has not ended, it is still with him, but he is capable of working, he does translations, and he generally feels in a satisfactory condition. As regards the virus carriers, there are now about 50 Soviet citizens registered in our country, but none of them so far shows any clinical signs of manifest Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome. Every 1 or 2 weeks we find someone, including virus carriers, when we carry out scheduled examinations of people in risk categories, when we carry out blood tests, and when we carry out examination in the confidential clinics—a method, incidentally, that has turned out to be quite effective in detecting such people.

[Lazarevich] Where did our infected people contract the disease?

[Pokrovskiy] We have two groups of people. In the first group, there are 16 people who one way or another are connected epidemiologically with that first case of the disease brought back from Tanzania, the patient I was talking about. The second, larger group consists of Soviet women who have had sexual relations with foreigners—not only women of easy virtue or professional prostitutes—and homosexuals. We have one woman who was most likely infected by a female friend using the same syringe for injecting drugs.

[Lazarevich] Valentin Ivanovich, a question following from that. There have been reports in our press, also quoting Western sources, that the virus can be transmitted not only sexually or in the blood, but, for example, by sweat.

[Pokrovskiy] It can now be said quite certainly that the virus is transmitted only in two ways: first, sexually; and second, via blood, or via a syringe which contains blood. Thirdly, there is the transplacental way, which is when the fetus is infected by the mother during pregnancy. Scientists do not recognize any other methods or ways of becoming infected, and all the talk of the disease being transmitted by sweat, saliva, or tears is all inaccurate information.

[Lazarevich] Another question, and perhaps the most important one. How great is the danger of a widespread AIDS epidemic in our country?

[Pokrovskiy] We hope that we will not have a widespread AIDS epidemic in our country on the same scale, for example, as in the West, in the United States. But the virus has already been brought into the territory of the Soviet Union. The further spread of the virus will depend totally on our behavior. I personally have no doubt, however, that the amount of illness will increase and the rate of infection will grow.

[Lazarevich] Valentin Ivanovich, so we evidently need to prepare for an increase in the number of patients. We evidently need a clinic and a larger network of laboratories?

[Pokrovskiy] There are plans to build a special building to house patients infected with the AIDS virus, but unfortunately all this is moving extremely slowly. Someone better qualified than I am to say what stage this project is at is Vadim Tovgatovich Abubakirov, the head doctor at Clinical Infectious Diseases Hospital No 2, which is the base in which the Central Epidemiology Institute operates.

[Abubakirov] Our hospital has drawn up a plan, jointly with the institute, for the construction of this building. All the documents are at the Chief Directorate of the Moscow Gorispolkom. Then they must go to a planning and accounting organization. But if things go on at the pace they have been, you know, the construction work will only be started in 3 to 4 years' time.

[Lazerevich] Yes, we obviously don't have that much time.

[Pokrovskiy] No, we don't. Some of the people we now have who are infected will undoubtedly become ill, and our task is to help them in good time. In addition, we periodically hospitalize all the infected people for 1 or 2 weeks, and we naturally need the corresponding conditions, the corresponding locations, to do this. We probably need to be thinking about something else, too: a dedicated sanatorium for these people. In other words, we have a lot of social problems facing us.

[Lazarevich] Valentin Ivanovich, so there needs to be a broad, extensive program to combat AIDS, and it has to be an intersectoral program.

[Pokrovskiy] Well, there already is such a program. A program for combatting AIDS has been drawn up under the aegis of the State Committee for Science and Technology. We are now planning to hold another session to discuss the program. But in addition I would like to stress that all levels of society and all administrative bodies should be concerned about the fight against AIDS, so that there isn't the attitude that it is up to the doctors, the militia or someone else to combat AIDS. The Education Committee should examine very seriously the program of biology teaching in schools, paying proper attention to this aspect.

[Lazarevich] And in the institutes, too, probably.

[Pokrovskiy] I think that corresponding measures should be taken in the institutes, too. A fair amount is in fact being done in this respect, but unfortunately it is still not enough.

TASS Announces 'Cosmos-1935' Launched 24 Mar

LD250747 Moscow TASS in English 0741 GMT 25 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 25 TASS—On Thursday March 24, the Soviet Union launched an artificial earth satellite "Cosmos-1935" for the continuation of research into outer space.

It was put into orbit with the following parameters:

Initial period of revolution—89.5 minutes.

Maximum distance from the earth surface—356 kilometres.

Minimum distance from the earth surface—179 kilometres.

Inclination of the orbit—67 degrees.

The on-board equipment is functioning normally.

Cargo Ship Reported To Dock With 'Mir' Complex

Experiments Continue

LD251102 Moscow TASS in English 1029 GMT 25 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 25 TASS—A TASS correspondent reports from the Flight Control Centre:

Cosmonauts Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov have been working in space for 95 days. Today they are busied primarily with preparing for the docking of the ferry Progress-35. It is to be docked with the manned spaceship Mir at the start of the next day. According to the plan of explorations, the crew are also to carry out several medical and biological experiments.

In the past two days the cosmonauts carried out another series of experiments to study peculiar features of structural formations of colloidal solutions in the zero-gravity state and made measuring of a level of noise background at living and working premises of the complex.

Work at the complex proceeds under the planned schedule.

'Automatic Equipment' Used

LD260015 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2342 GMT 25 Mar 88

[Text] The Progress-35 cargo ship carried out a docking with the manned Mir complex on 26 March 1988 at 0122 Moscow time.

The mutual search, approach, mooring, and docking were carried out using onboard automatic equipment. These processes were monitored by the Flight Control Center interacting with the ground-based command and measurement complex, as well as by Cosmonauts Titov and Manarov.

The Progress-35 ship was docked with the complex on the side of the "Kvant" module. Fuel for the station's joint propulsion unit, food stuffs, equipment, and apparatus were delivered into orbit, as was mail.

According to telemetric information, data, and crew reports, the onboard systems of the Mir manned complex are functioning normally.

Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov feel fine.

Cosmonaut Leonov Comments on 'Phobos' Project

LD251627 Moscow TASS in English 1514 GMT 25 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 25 TASS—TASS correspondent Rena Kuznetsova reports:

Due to international cooperation, plans for a manned flight to Mars become a reality, said Pilot-Cosmonaut of the USSR Aleksey Leonov. The participant in two space flights, among them the joint Soviet-American flight in 1975, Leonov is now one of the heads of the Gagarin Cosmonauts Training Centre situated near Moscow.

Leonov said that the first stage of the explorations of Mars will be started in July when "Phobos" project will be embarked upon. 14 countries and organizations of the European Space Agency participate in the project which is expected to bring a great volume of information about Mars and its satellite, Phobos. The second stage of the exploration of Mars is to be started in mid-nineties. Automatic stations will put on Mars self-propelled vehicles and balloons to study the Martian surface and gaseous envelope. The third stage, the last one before the manned flight, late in the current century, will result in delivering Martian rock to Earth to be analysed in laboratories.

Leonov noted that a direct flight of man from Earth to Mars is disadvantageous from the view point of energy expenditures. Most probably the structure to put cosmonauts on Mars will first be taken in parts to an orbit of an artificial Earth's satellite. Then it will be assembled on an orbital platform to be launched toward Mars. The Soviet Union's scientific and space potential makes it possible to create such a structure even now, Leonov emphasized. Using "Energiya" booster-rocket which was successfully tested in May 1987, 100 tons of cargo can be put into a near-Earth orbit or 27 tons can be put on Mars. Besides that, a long-term research orbital complex "Mir" consisting of several facilities has already been operating in orbit.

Approaching Mars, a spacecraft can be put into an orbit of a Martian satellite, Leonov said. Leaving the basic system—retransmitter—in the orbit, the crew will separate a module and will descend in it to the surface of Mars. For some time the module will serve as a home for Earthlings on Mars. They will be able to leave it, work on the Martian surface and will then return to the basic platform. When Earth and Mars are favourably positioned they will make a launching to return to Earth.

Briefs

Aircraft Testing

The heads of the Antonov Design Bureau and the Arctic and Antarctic Scientific Research Institute have decided to carry out the Europe-Asia-Antarctic aerial expedition on a Ruslan aircraft this October. While the polar explorers and test pilots are in the Antarctic they will put AN-74 and AN-28 aircraft through their trials. The Ruslan is to fly from Kiev to Tashkent with the AN-28 on board. After refueling it will head for the Mirniy station. The AN-74 will evidently fly to the Antarctic via Aden and Maputo. [Summary] [*LD270202 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2300 GMT 26 Mar 88*]

Personal Computers Available

The Mikrosha personal computer recently became available in Electronika shops. It functions in Basic, though this was found to be inadequate and a new language, Basic Saratov, has now been introduced by the computer center of the Leonozovskiy Electromechanical Plant in Saratov Oblast. The computer has a capacity of 32 kilobytes, has a color monitor, and costs R500, which is cheaper than other personal computers. However, there are major problems with quality, availability of programs, and repair services. [Summary] [*LD250533 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1415 GMT 23 Mar 88*]